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THE HISTORY  
OF  
SOUTH AMERICA  
FROM ITS DISCOVERY TO THE PRESENT TIME

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BY  
A N A M E R I C A N  
*R. G.*

TRANSLATED FROM THE SPANISH BY  
ADNAH D. JONES

WITH MAPS AND INDEX BY THE TRANSLATOR



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## P R E F A C E.

IT is a certain fact, unfortunately, that since Robertson, a respectable historian of the last century, no one has seriously undertaken to write the History of America, and especially of South America, of which the states, formerly Spanish colonies, with the exception of Brazil, are now republics almost unknown to Europeans. It must be confessed that their apathetic sons have not sufficiently exerted themselves to dissipate or rectify the erroneous and disdainful opinion that the Europeans have formed of our America, nor—and this is most important—to make known to each other nations and states closely related by origin, and natural allies by their interests, to all of whom, undoubtedly, days of prosperity and glory, of liberty and real aggrandisement, are reserved in the future, if they know how to profit by the lessons of history.

To meet this need we have decided to write the history of our Fatherland, South America, that country which Columbus thought was Paradise, and which is the jewel of the universe, without being terrified by the grave difficulties that it was necessary to confront in order to bring it to a successful issue; difficulties, we confess, that we should not have attempted to overcome without the generous solicitude and lively desire by which we were animated to render by it a real service to our beloved country.

Let not our undertaking, then, be qualified as rash,

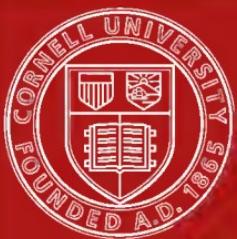
for if it is certain that the mere fact of attempting it is so, it is no less certain that some other term should be used since it is dictated by the truest patriotism.

Our History of South America, from its discovery by Columbus to our own times, although it is only a summary, is not so incomplete that it fails to include carefully all the facts of the history of our country, setting in relief the vicissitudes that it has passed through, in order that they may contribute to the advantage of future generations, in such a way that the children may learn from the sufferings undergone by their fathers.

We will not conclude without placing on record that our History of South America, if it is wanting in other qualities, is at least written with the most rigid impartiality and pervaded throughout by a judiciously democratic and ardently American spirit, being intended for all classes of society ; and that our wishes will be fulfilled if all our fellow-citizens study it with the generous solicitude with which we have written it, and with that of rendering themselves worthy of contributing some day to the prosperity of their country.—R. C.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PREFACE . . . . .	v
PART FIRST.	
CHAPTER	
I. THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA . . . . .	1
II. THE CONQUEST OF SOUTH AMERICA . . . . .	20
III. THE CONQUEST OF SOUTH AMERICA ( <i>continued</i> ) . . . . .	46
IV. THE COLONISATION OF SOUTH AMERICA . . . . .	64
V. EMANCIPATION OF THE COLONIES OF SOUTH AMERICA—CONSTITUTION OF ITS VARIOUS NATIONALITIES . . . . .	91
PART SECOND.	
I. THE UNITED STATES OF COLOMBIA . . . . .	117
II. THE UNITED STATES OF VENEZUELA . . . . .	140
III. THE REPUBLIC OF ECUADOR . . . . .	155
IV. BRAZIL . . . . .	171
V. THE ARGENTINE CONFEDERATION . . . . .	194
VI. THE ORIENTAL REPUBLIC OF URUGUAY . . . . .	218
VII. THE REPUBLIC OF PARAGUAY . . . . .	231
VIII. BOLIVIA . . . . .	249
IX. PERU . . . . .	264
X. CHILI . . . . .	293
XI. PATAGONIA . . . . .	315
XII. TIERRA DEL FUEGO . . . . .	322
CONCLUSION . . . . .	326



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# SOUTH AMERICA

## *From the Conquest to the Present Time.*





## PART FIRST.

### CHAPTER I.

#### THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

IT is a certain and indisputable fact, admitted by historians, that in the tenth and eleventh centuries the ancient Scandinavians discovered, visited and even settled on the eastern coasts of North America. In the spring of the year 986 Eric the Red, who was banished from Iceland, directed his course to Greenland, and fixed his residence in Brattalid on the Ericsfjord.

The Scandinavians settled successively in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, as well as in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, keeping up communications with these countries until the middle of the fourteenth century, when they fell off and ceased because Greenland had become a desert through the Black Death, the ice preventing renewed communications with it until 1721, when a new colony settled there. Whether this or something else were the cause of the interruption of communications between the two countries, certainly, in the fifteenth century, the traces, even if not the memory, of America had been completely lost.

It is also asserted that America was discovered before Columbus by the men of Dieppe, famous navigators of the fifteenth century, and it has been desired to prove that they visited it in 1488, reaching the mouth of the river Amazon; and, according to the celebrated Lelewel, by the Pole, John Szcolny, who, being in 1476 in the service of the King of Denmark, discovered the coasts of Labrador. These unfounded claims only serve to prove once more how unjustly the very men who had formerly treated Columbus as a visionary wished to take the glory of his discoveries from him.

Christopher Columbus, that grand figure which rises like a giant on the boundary of the middle and the modern ages, appeared precisely when the passion for enterprises to distant countries had reached its apogee, when the ambition of making discoveries incited to the perfecting of maritime science and formed new navigators, when, in fine, the discovery of a sea route to India was a general preoccupation in Genoa and Venice, in Spain and Portugal, in France and England.

Columbus, a humble and unknown Genoese sailor, was distinguished for his bravery and seamanship, as well as for his extensive knowledge in geometry, astronomy and cosmography, and, like many others, was seeking a new road to reach Asia. The writings of Eratosthenes, Strabo and Ptolemy, of Seneca, Aristotle and Alfergan, the relations of Marco Polo, especially, and of Sir John Maundeville, some passages of Scripture and perhaps the information or traditions that he might casually collect in a voyage to Iceland of the discoveries made four centuries previously by its inhabitants, led him to believe that, the earth being spherical, by sailing westwards he would arrive at the east of Asia. He did not suspect that America would obstruct his passage.

Columbus' mind being stirred by such ideas, which from hypothesis passed to the firmest conviction, full of enthusiasm for science and with the highest degree of faith in his daring enterprise, he bent his steps towards Portugal to lay his ideas before John II., who had him examined by a commission of learned men and nobles, who declared him to be a presumptuous and visionary madman. Columbus returned to his country, which, like Venice and England, gave no better reception to his projects. Then it was that he turned to Spain, and on foot, with his son Diego, he arrived and begged food and shelter at the monastery of Santa María de la Rábida (1484). New and painful trials awaited him in this country which he was to aggrandise to such an extent that the sun never set on her dominions. Overwhelmed with misery and repulsed by almost every one, he had to contend against incredulity and to put up with mockery, without their diminishing his immovable faith and his convictions. It was not without trouble that he succeeded in getting Cardinal Mendoza to present him to the king, who appointed a commission of

professors of science and theology to examine his proposition. The assertions of Columbus caused distrust in the theologians, by the mere fact of pointing out the existence of other worlds and other men not mentioned in the Book of Genesis, and this was sufficient to characterise his enterprise as vain and chimerical. For the space of eight years he contended against the scruples of the religious spirit which interposed themselves between the Crown and him, and had to bear the sarcasms of those great nobles of the Castilian court who were as ignorant as they were abject. It is right to confess that the sole support that his project met with was given by the monks of La Rábida, with their prior Fray Juan Perez, who furnished him with recommendations to Queen Isabella, as he had previously done to the king.

In Santa Fé, the queen heard Columbus explain his project and beg her to accept the gift of a new world. He was again dismissed with the contempt that always follows misfortunes in courts. With the bitterness that a great mind feels when it is not understood, Columbus turned his back on ungrateful Spain and prepared to start for France at the call of Charles VIII. just when Queen Isabella, giving way to the entreaties of Santangel and of Fray Juan Perez, who were able to awaken generous sentiments in her mind, decided to recall him, offering her private jewels to complete the sum of 300,000 crowns, which, with two ships, were considered sufficient for so bold an enterprise, and to which Columbus was to contribute an eighth part.

Columbus and his heirs were to exercise in perpetuity the office of admiral in all the lands and continents that he should discover or conquer in the ocean, he was to be viceroy and governor of the above-mentioned lands, sole judge in all questions that might arise in commercial matters between the countries discovered and Spain, and to have a tenth part of the profits after deduction of expenses. Such were the treaties, or conditions, stipulated between the Queen of Castile and the famous Genoese seaman.

Isabella the Catholic placed at the disposal of Columbus two caravels, vessels of light construction, open and undecked, and the three brothers Pinzon furnished him with the means of fitting out a third vessel. The *Santa María*, the *Pinta* and the *Niña*, after overcoming the opposition of the mariners of Palos, who considered those who risked themselves on this expedition

as inevitably lost, left the above port on Friday, the third day of August, 1492, amidst the compassion or mockery of all who were present.

It is indubitable, as Reynaud justly observes, that if the Inquisition, then nascent, had arrived at the influence and immense power of which it shortly after gave us too many examples, Columbus, as heretical in geography as Galileo was in astronomy, would not have set out in search of a new world, but rather would have been condemned for having demonstrated the antipodes, as the latter was for having demonstrated the rotation of the earth ; for the Church never had other opinions about the shape of the earth than those of Moses and the prophets, and those of St. Chrysostom, St. Augustine, St. Jerome and the other fathers, sworn enemies of the sphericity of the earth, which they considered to be a plain surrounded by the ocean.

Three days after setting sail Columbus arrived at the Canaries, being obliged to remain a month in these islands to repair the many damages that the ships had sustained, for they were in such a condition that it was considered difficult, if not impossible, for them to support a voyage that, doubtless, would be as long as it was dangerous. On the 6th of September, after taking on board fresh provisions, Columbus really began the voyage to discover the New World, sailing to the west, leaving all the courses hitherto followed by navigators and entering an unknown sea.

The incidents of this voyage, which are known to every one, the numerous dangers that were run, among which not the least were the ignorance and pusillanimity of the crews, give an extraordinary grandeur to the figure of Columbus. The poor men thought themselves lost in a boundless sea and the unknown froze them with terror ; first they begged and then demanded that he should return. Columbus, who united the talent of governing and directing the passions of others to an insinuating spirit, an indefatigable perseverance and great self-command, sometimes consoled them, by reanimating their courage, now describing to them in the most brilliant colours the lands they were going to discover, now the fame and riches they were going to acquire ; at other times he took the tone of authority and threatened them with the anger of their sovereigns if, by their

cowardly conduct, they should frustrate so noble an undertaking, the object of which was to extend the glory of God and exalt the Spanish name above that of all the nations of the earth. Nevertheless, the thousand incidents that at every step gave promise of meeting with land turned out deceptive, and the dismay and despair of the navigators increased every moment. The wished-for Cipango of Marco Polo only appeared on the map that was constantly being added to by Columbus; they had run much more than the 750 leagues that he had reckoned were necessary to reach it, without making out any shore. At last at ten o'clock on the night of 11th October, Columbus, who was on the forecastle, observed at a certain distance, and pointed out to his companions, a light which was moving as if it were carried from one part to another. A lowly pharos which announced the presence of a new world!

At two o'clock on the morning of the 12th, Rodrigo de Triana, a seaman of the *Pinta*, which always sailed ahead of the little fleet, gave the anxiously desired shout of "Land! land!" without much belief being placed in it, because they had often been deceived by false appearances. They waited for day with the agitation that anxiety and impatience produce, and at day-break they clearly distinguished, two leagues to the north, an island resplendent with verdure. They all sang the "Te Deum," and with tears of joy and every sign of sincere repentance prostrated themselves before Columbus, begging him to pardon their ignorance, their incredulity and their insolence.

At sunrise they lowered the boats, and Columbus, in full dress, holding the royal standard in one hand and his sword in the other, landed first, knelt down and kissed the earth, of which he took possession in the name of the Crown of Castile and Leon. The natives, full of fear and dread, looked on in silence at all these to them unintelligible ceremonies without foreseeing, unhappy wretches! the calamities and desolation which had commenced at that moment for their country. "I," says Columbus in his diary, "because they had great friendship for us, because I knew that they were people who would give themselves up and be converted to our holy faith by mildness rather than by force, gave some of them some red caps and glass beads, which were put on their necks, and other

things, many of small value, with which they were very pleased, and became so friendly that it was a marvel. They afterwards came swimming to the ships' boats where we were, and brought us parrots and balls of cotton thread and assegais and many other things, and exchanged them for other things that we gave them, such as little glass beads and small bells. In short they took all and gave of what they had with good will. But it appeared to me that they were very poor. The men all go as naked as they were born, and also the women, although I saw more than one rather young, and all the men I saw were young, for I saw none more than thirty years old; handsome bodies and very well built with very good faces, their hair almost as coarse as that of a horse's tail, and short; the hair fell over their eyebrows, except some behind that they wore long and which they never cut. Some of them paint themselves black, though they are of the colour of the natives of the Canary Islands, neither black nor white, and some paint themselves white and some red and some with what they find, and some paint their faces and others the whole of the body, some the eyes alone and some only the nose. They do not carry arms nor are they acquainted with them, for I showed them some swords and they took hold of them by the blade and cut themselves through their ignorance. They have no iron, their spears are shafts without iron, some of them have a fish's tooth for a head and others other things.

“ . . . They came to the ship [diary of 13th October] with canoes which are made of the trunk of a tree, like a long boat, and all of a piece, and carved in a wonderful manner according to the district, some of them so large that forty or forty-five men came in them, and others much smaller, there were even some in which only one man came. They rowed with a paddle like a baker's peel and went wonderfully well, and if the canoe capsizes, immediately they all begin to swim, and right it and bale it out with gourds that they carry with them. And I, who was observant and trying to find out if there was any gold, saw that some of them wore a little piece of it hanging from a hole in the nose, and by signs I was able to understand that by going to the south, or going round the island by the south, there was a king there who had large cups of it and had very much.”

Columbus gave the name of San Salvador to this island, although it is better known by that of Guanahani which the natives gave it. It was one of the Bahamas, surrounded by the innumerable islands of the Bahama banks, that Columbus thought were the 7488 mentioned by Marco Polo. Following the indications of the islanders he determined to direct his course towards the south, not doubting to meet with the country of gold and spices, the India of his constant thoughts. He discovered various islands and landed on three of them, to which he gave the names of Santa María de la Concepcion, Fernando and Isabel; in them the islanders indicated that they got the gold equally from the south. Going on again in this direction he soon discovered a country so extensive that he doubted whether it were continent or island; the inhabitants of San Salvador who were aboard his vessels told him it was called Cuba, and Columbus gave it the name of Juana. Its magnificent vegetation, its flowers, its fruits and its birds of brilliant colours struck his imagination so vividly that it carried him so far as to assure the Catholic kings that that country was the most beautiful that human eyes had ever seen, in which he should wish to live for ever and in which it could not be conceived there was either pain or death. The Spaniards, having explored the interior of the country, observed that the land was cultivated in many parts, and much better than in the islands hitherto discovered. They met with many huts scattered about and, besides, a town in which dwelt more than a thousand inhabitants who, although they went naked like those of San Salvador, and received them with the same respect and fear, appeared to have much more intelligence. They made Columbus understand that the gold that served them for ornaments was found in Cubanacan, or the interior of Cuba, which caused him, ignorant of their language, unaccustomed to their pronunciation, and, above all, blinded by the idea that he had formed of the position of the Indies, to suppose that they were speaking of the great Khan, and that therefore he could not be very far from the kingdom of Cathay described by Marco Polo.

Nor was gold found in the island of Cuba in sufficient quantity to satisfy the greed of the Spaniards, the Cubans pointing out to them another island situated to the eastward, and which they

designated by the name of Haiti, as the part in which a metal so precious abounded. Columbus was preparing to set sail for this point when Alonso Pinzon, the captain of the *Pinta*, which was the best sailor in the squadron, left it, with the intention of taking possession of so rich a country before anybody else. Columbus sailing towards the south-east arrived on 6th December at Haiti, one of the most beautiful islands in the world, destined to feel terribly the rigour of a cruel domination. He gave it the name of Hispaniola, and its inhabitants, who very much resembled those of Guanahani and Cuba by their nakedness, their ignorance and simplicity, were so affable, credulous and hospitable, and the Spaniards had such an ascendancy over them, that Columbus wrote to the sovereigns: "If Your Highnesses should order me to take them all and keep them prisoners in their own island nothing would be more easy than to do so". They had much gold, which they received from their neighbours, and which they gave to the Spaniards in exchange for little bells, glass beads, pins and other objects of no value. This did not satisfy Columbus and his companions, who wished to know where the mines of the precious metal were situated, asking all the natives of the country with whom they could hold communication, and these pointed out to them a mountainous country called Cibao, at some distance and situated to the eastward. He thought that the country he had discovered was close to the most eastern boundaries of Asia, and that Cibao was no other than Cipango, a name given by Marco Polo and other travellers to the islands of Japan. Always the phantom of Asia, as Lamartine observes, interposing itself between America and him, to rob him, for a chimera, of a great reality! On the 24th December Columbus turned his prow towards the point indicated, and because the pilot had left the helm to an inexpert steersman, the *Santa María*, carried by a current, struck a rock and sprung a leak near the keel. Thanks to the calmness and skill of Columbus whom the shock awakened, to the succour given by the boats of the *Niña*, and the help of the natives, not only the crew but also the cargo were saved.

Columbus was afflicted; only the *Niña* remained of the three ships that composed his small fleet, since it must be remembered that Pinzon had disappeared with the *Pinta*, Columbus believing that he had returned to Europe in order to arrive before him and

claim the glory of the expedition ; and although he had a strong desire to return to Spain and announce his success, it was not possible to embark in one caravel the crews of two. He thought then of leaving part of his people on the island that they might learn the language of the natives, explore the country and endeavour to discover the mines, at the same time that they would serve as a base for a colony that he intended to found in order to secure the great advantages that his discoveries promised. When he proposed this plan to his company it was accepted with enthusiasm, thirty-eight voluntarily offered to remain in Hispaniola, at the head of whom he placed Diego de Aranda, invested with the same powers that he himself had received from the Catholic kings. He also obtained the consent of the cacique to leave his people in the island, under pretext of defending him against the caribs or cannibals, and to build a fort which was finished in ten days, with the help of the poor islanders, who themselves forged the first link of the chain that was so cruelly to bind America to Spain.

After enjoining on his people the strictest union and discipline, as well as care in avoiding all cause of complaint with the natives of the country, cultivating their friendship, but not on that account trusting them blindly, and having promised them to return very quickly with reinforcements, Columbus left the nascent colony on the 4th of January, 1493, taking with him some natives of the islands that he had discovered, all the gold that he had collected in them, a small quantity of all the productions that might become objects of commerce, some unknown birds and other curiosities proper to excite the wonder of Europeans. Sailing towards the east, he skirted the north coast of the island, and on the 6th sighted the *Pinta*, with which Pinzon had explored, during the six weeks that his absence had lasted, the north coast of Haiti, without making any discovery of importance. He set out with him on his return to Europe, and the voyage was favourable until the 14th of February, when a violent tempest parted them again. During the fortnight that the storm lasted, what mortal agony must Columbus have suffered, who, after seeing the desire of his whole life realised, and when he was taking, as it were, to Europe a new world, and with it the most eloquent refutation of those who had treated him

as a visionary, and the justification of success to those who protected him, saw his certain and inevitable loss, without leaving behind him anything more than the fame of an imprudent and deceived adventurer! In order to avoid this, he wrote some short accounts of his discoveries, put them, wrapped in balls of wax, into barrels, which he threw into the sea, in hopes that the waves, so contrary to him, would carry them to the shores of some civilised country.

But at last the wind dropped and the sea became calm, and he was able to reach the Azores, where the Portuguesc received him in an infamous manner, imprisoning half his crew, because the King of Portugal had commanded them to seize Columbus wherever he might be found, because he had deprived him of a discovery which had been offered to him and which he would not accept, or had usurped possessions which had been conceded to him by the Pope. Nevertheless, when he arrived at Lisbon, he was received with all the marks of distinction that were due to the discoverer of the New World.

At last, on the 15th of March, Columbus disembarked at Palos, where, when the people knew the happy result of the voyage, the joy was so general that they set the bells ringing, fired salvoes of artillery, closed the shops and all ran to embrace those who were considered lost, and to venerate as an extraordinary man him who seven months before had served them for a jest. In the evening of the same day Pinzon arrived, who, expecting that the admiral was dead, was boasting of being the discoverer; but, on seeing his hopes frustrated, and the triumph of Columbus, he died of disappointment a few days later.

Columbus hastened to inform the sovereigns of his arrival and discoveries. Ferdinand and Isabella, who were then at Barcelona, commanded him to proceed immediately to that city, since they desired to hear from his own lips the particulars of his expedition. His journey was a continuous ovation—a veritable triumph—and he entered Barcelona in great state. The sovereigns received him seated on their thrones, and caused him to be seated in their presence, not as a great man, but as a gran-dee of Spain.

The account given by Columbus and his companions of the newly discovered countries, to which, erroneously, the name of

West Indies, which they still preserve, was given, and especially the specimens of their fertility and riches which they had brought, awakened so much enthusiasm and infused such brilliant hopes that the Spaniards, including the circumspect Ferdinand, being blinded by greed and ambition, thought to carry forward immediately the conquests and discoveries, the preparations for the second voyage being made with unusual celerity. This new armament was composed of seventeen ships, some of large tonnage, in which 1500 persons embarked, among whom were many gentlemen and clergymen, with provisions, scientific and artistic instruments, seeds, horses and other domestic animals which they thought might succeed in the climate of the Indies.

But Pope Martin V. had conceded to the King of Portugal all the countries that should be discovered from Cape Bojador and Cape Nun to the Indies, and Spain, by making her own the countries discovered by Columbus, was infringing the rights of Portugal, whose king sent a squadron to occupy them. Before the fleet sailed it was necessary for the Catholic kings to secure for themselves the right of property and possession in the new countries; for which purpose, following the example of the Portuguese, and knowing the superstition of the age, they applied to Rome, from whence, by his bulls, the vicar and representative of Christ, Alexander VI., a man stained with every kind of crime, conceded to Spain the islands and mainland discovered or to be discovered in the western ocean, investing the Crown of Castile with a right over vast regions to which, as Robertson observes, he not only had no title, but was ignorant of their position and even of their existence. It was, nevertheless, fitting to respect the concession made to Portugal, and by another bull of the 4th of May, 1493, the Pope supposed a line drawn from pole to pole at the distance of 100 leagues west of the Azores, conceding to the Portuguese all that lay to the east of this line, and to the Spaniards all the countries situated to the west of it.

Possessors of this title, which appeared indisputable to Ferdinand and Isabella, nothing could now retard the departure of the fleet, which weighed anchor on the 25th of September. Columbus touched at the Canaries, where the adventurers took

seeds of oranges and lemons, bergamot and other fruits, calves, goats, sheep and pigs, which afterwards thrrove wonderfully in the new continent. He shaped his course to the south, and being carried along constantly by the trade winds, on the twenty-sixth day after leaving La Gomera (Canaries), landed on one of the islands of the Caribbean group, situated at a great distance to the east of his discoveries in the former voyage. He discovered successively Dominica, Mari-Galante, Guadalupe, Monserrat, Antigua, San Juan de Puerto Rico, and many others that he met with in his course, advancing towards the north, all inhabited by cannibals, who, in their raids, went as far as the Bahamas.

Without stopping in any of the newly discovered islands Columbus continued his route towards Hispaniola, at which colony he arrived on the 22nd of November. No one came to meet him, and on landing, uneasy about the fate of the Spaniards, he found the fort entirely demolished and the garrison exterminated. Forgetting the wise and prudent counsels of the admiral, the Spaniards who remained there abused the hospitality of the caciques, seizing by violence their gold, their women and their stores of food; the victims had attacked their oppressors, who were scattered in small bands throughout the island, and numbers had overcome fire-arms. Columbus departed from this blood-stained shore, and instead of avenging the insult as his officers advised him to do, adopted the necessary precautions to prevent its repetition in future, laying out for this purpose, in a plain near a wide bay, the plan of a city which he built in a short time, obliging all the Spaniards to work at it, to which he gave the name of Isabela, in honour of his protectress the Queen of Castile. This was the first town that the Europeans founded in the New World.

While Columbus was struggling with the difficulties that the founding of a colony in a wild country always causes, his people, who had conceived the chimerical hope that it was sufficient to arrive at the Indies in order to obtain in abundance and without fatigue the gold which they coveted, fell into the deepest dejection that very soon was turned into despair. Discontent became general, the spirit of insubordination spread, and a conspiracy was formed that might have been fatal to the admiral and the colony. Discovered by Columbus, he repressed it with energy,

condemning its chiefs to death and sending their accomplices prisoners to Spain, at the same time that he sent twelve of the transports which had accompanied him with specimens of the gold extracted from the mines of Cibao, where it abounded, and asked for a reinforcement of men and provisions.

The discontented and envious, at the head of whom appeared Father Boyle, the chief missionary, and Pedro Margarita, returned to Spain, calumniating the admiral, whom they accused of ambition and cruelty. Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca, archdeacon of Seville and afterwards patriarch of the Indies, being appointed by the sovereigns to direct the discoveries, made the tales of Father Boyle a pretext for hindering the enterprise of Columbus and imputing to him very grave faults. Then, making use of this opportunity to curtail the large concessions that had been made to him in the treaty of Santa Fé, the sovereigns authorised any of their subjects to settle in Hispaniola that they might undertake new discoveries (10th April, 1495).

During this time Columbus fortified Isabela, left the government of the island to his brother Diego, aided by a council of officers, and set sail, without making any other important discovery than that of Jamaica during the five months that the voyage lasted.

Coasting along the south of Cuba, he found himself in a labyrinth formed by an infinite number of small islands, to which he gave the name of the Queen's Garden, on account of the richness and perfumes of their vegetation.

When Columbus returned to Isabela, he found the Indians exasperated against those whom they had at first received and venerated as the children of the Sun. Nor did they lack reasons for this. After the admiral's departure, the soldiers whom he had left under the command of Alonso de Ojeda, shaking off the yoke of discipline and subordination, disbanded themselves throughout the island and irritated the Indians, whom they treated with the greatest insolence and with all the excesses of military tyranny.

The Carib Caonabo, a powerful and influential cacique among those of the island, having a presentiment of the ills that were to come upon it through the occupation of the strangers, opposed it with all his might, and drew close the alliance of the caciques.

Columbus saw that it was absolutely indispensable to have recourse to arms against the Indians in order to secure the ascendancy and domination of the Spaniards ; he hastened to reunite his troops and attack the Indians, who were easily conquered, taking prisoner Caonabo himself, the dreaded chief of the golden house, who, untamed even in prison, died on being taken to Spain with many other inhabitants of the island, who were destined to be sold as slaves. Terrible auxiliaries of the Spaniards in this war were the dogs that, having been taught to attack the Moors in Spain, became cruelly enraged against the naked and timid Indians.

A few months were sufficient for Columbus to overrun the whole island, to subdue it without resistance and impose a tribute on the Indians over fourteen years of age, which some were to pay in gold, others in cotton, according to the productions of the district in which they lived. This heavy tribute was exacted with excessive severity, which the defenders of Columbus, in order to palliate his inhuman conduct, say that he was obliged to adopt as the sole means of upholding his credit and imposing silence on his opponents, satisfying the avarice of the sovereigns and engaging them to continue the discoveries. Poor and immoral excuses, which have never been considered sufficient to justify so great iniquity !

The enemies of Columbus, with a constancy worthy of a better cause, were working in Spain to deprive him of the glory and the rewards that were due to him for his services, and succeeded at last in getting the court to appoint a commissioner to go to Hispaniola and inquire into the accusations of which his conduct was the subject. Juan de Aguado, gentleman of the king's chamber, was appointed to this important office ; he abused his powers, taking pleasure in tormenting a great man and aggravating the ills that afflicted Columbus, who, ill and dejected, knowing the critical position of his affairs, judged it necessary to return to Spain in order to justify himself in person before the sovereigns. He set out, then, on the 10th of March, 1496, after putting the administration of the colony into the hands of his brother Bartolomé and appointing Francisco Roldan president of the tribunal of justice ; and when he arrived in Spain, he presented himself to the queen at Burgos, in the dress of a friar,

sad, downcast and barefoot, as a suppliant of genius going to ask pardon for his glory, according to the felicitous expression of Lamartine. His presence produced a tender compassion in the mind of the queen, and after hearing him she took up his defence.

Not without struggling for the space of two years against every kind of intrigue, could Columbus succeed in completing the preparations for a third expedition, supported by Isabella, who, in spite of everything, continued her favour to the admiral. Not finding Spaniards who desired to go and settle in a country whose climate had been so fatal to a great number of their compatriots, Columbus proposed to load the ships with criminals, who instead of going to the gallows or the galleys should go and people Hispaniola. And this proposition, whose consequences were bound to be disastrous, was immediately adopted by the court and later by the other European nations.

On the 30th of May, 1498, Columbus set out on his third voyage with six ships of medium tonnage, and after touching at the Canaries, whence he despatched three of his ships to carry succour to Hispaniola, he shaped his course for the line, being persuaded, like his contemporaries, that the hottest lands contained the greatest mineral riches. On reaching within five degrees of the line, he was detained by the dreadful calms of the equator, and yielding to the entreaties of his crews, who feared that the ships would catch fire, altered his course to the north-west in order to touch at some one of the Caribbean Islands, with the object of restoring his health, broken by fatigue, and to take in stores. On the 1st of August the look-out man in the tops gave the cry of "Land!" and a large island was sighted, to which the admiral gave the name of Trinidad, which it still preserves. Coasting the island in search of a place to anchor, he discovered to the south a low land that stretched farther than the eye could see, and far along the coast the mouth of a great river, whose impetuous waters penetrated for three leagues into the ocean without mixing with its waters. He rightly conjectured that so large a river must traverse a vast continent. Nor was he deceived; the Orinoco with its fifty mouths, its numerous arms and its course of 2200 kilometres, waters an immense country; its floods are terrible and in its overflows

it extends 100 kilometres from its banks. That low land, from the centre of which he saw the river fall into the ocean, was the coast of Columbia, the continent of the New World, that Columbus believed to be the prolongation of the east coast of Asia, being ignorant, like all his contemporaries, of the physiognomical likeness that all the productions of the zone of palms have between themselves. He sailed westward along the coast of what was afterwards the provinces of Paria and Cumaná; landed at various points and entered into relations with the natives, observing that their faces and customs had the greatest resemblance to those of the Indians of Hispaniola, although they appeared to have more intelligence and courage. The great quantity of gold and the large number of most beautiful pearls that he obtained from the inhabitants of the coast in exchange for merchandise of small value, the beauty and fertility of the country, the riches of its vegetable productions, the variety of birds of brilliant colours, and his belief that that was the highest part of the globe, where, according to Sir John Maundeville, Paradise must be situated, were circumstances that induced him to think that he had discovered the Terrestrial Paradise, setting it down as such in the description of this voyage, and attempting to demonstrate that the Orinoco is the famous river that rises in Eden.

The bad condition of the ships, his sickness, and the impatience of the crews, obliged him to leave, reluctantly, such an enchanting country, promising himself, nevertheless, to return as soon as possible and prosecute his important discoveries. On directing his course to Hispaniola, where he arrived on the 30th of August, he discovered the islands of Cubagua and Margarita, which afterwards became celebrated for their pearl fisheries.

The most frightful anarchy reigned in the colony notwithstanding the prudence of his brother Bartolomé. Roldan, who was appointed by Columbus president of the tribunal of justice, had risen in revolt, disavowing his authority and inciting the Indians to throw off the yoke that weighed on them. Columbus understood in view of the gravity of the circumstances that it was necessary to use the greatest prudence to re-establish peace and quietness, and endeavoured not to fight, but to negotiate, with the rebels, and principally with their chiefs, in order to reduce them to obedience. As a consequence he was reconciled with

Roldan, and by this means succeeded in disuniting and weakening the mutineers, but not in extirpating the germs of discord from the island, many of the dissidents continuing in arms and refusing to submit to his authority; on which account the admiral and his brothers were obliged to be constantly in the field, sometimes to prevent their incursions and sometimes to punish their violence. While Columbus was endeavouring with success to pacify the island and regulate its government, and was employing wise measures to work and improve the mines and to cultivate the country, Ferdinand and Isabella, listening to the accusations which those who were dissatisfied with his administration put forward, sent Francisco de Bobadilla with unlimited powers to inquire into what was taking place in the colony. This man, who was of a despotic and violent character, after listening to the complaints of the ambitious and the depredators and to the clamours of restless envy, had Columbus brutally arrested, confiscated his property and sent him in chains to Spain.

When the sovereigns knew that the admiral was brought back a prisoner they were ashamed, and not without reason, of their conduct, public opinion being aroused at seeing the man to whom Spain owed a whole world arrive loaded with chains. The sovereigns hastened to command him to be set at liberty and to dismiss Bobadilla, but they did not restore to Columbus the rights and privileges annexed to the title of viceroy of the countries he had discovered, and sent Nicolás Ovando as governor in his place, with a magnificent squadron of thirty-two ships, on board of which 2500 persons embarked. Columbus, notwithstanding his recognised greatness of mind, could not support this new specimen of baseness and contempt; wherever he went he carried with him as a mark of the ingratitude of men the chains with which he was loaded to cross the Atlantic, which he was the first to open to ungrateful Europe. "I," says his son, "saw them always hanging in his cabinet and he wished them to be buried with him."

He was not discouraged by ingratitude, and, preoccupied with carrying out his favourite project, namely, to open out a new route to the Indies, he offered, with the enthusiasm of a young adventurer, to undertake a new voyage, with so much the greater reason that Vasco da Gama had reached India by

another route, and Cabral had discovered Brazil. Yet he could not obtain more than four caravels, the largest of which did not exceed seventy tons, and set out with them from Spain in 1502 accompanied by his brother Bartolomé and his son Fernando to go round the world at the advanced age of sixty-six years. On account of the bad state of his ships he was obliged to make for Hispaniola, where they would not receive him, nor attend to his warnings about a storm that he prognosticated, which was the cause that the ships, laden with ill-acquired riches, which were carrying Bobadilla and Roldan to Spain were lost, and they perished, together with the greater number of his bitterest enemies. He had, then, to go to Cuba to repair his leaky ships. In this his fourth and last voyage he added Martinique to his numerous discoveries and all the coast of the continent from Cape Gracias á Dios to Porto Bello harbour, always believing that at the end of the isthmus of Darien he should find a strait by which he might pass to the eastern seas, and this kept him away from Mexico (he paying no attention to the information of the inhabitants of the coast of Honduras), the discovery of which would have covered with fresh glory his already gloomy days.

Obliged to abandon his explorations, after losing two ships, he was wrecked on the coast of Jamaica, in which island he passed a year, sick in body and mind, attacked by the natives, among his mutinous sailors, and begging in vain for succour from Hispaniola ; and it was through the provisions that he obtained from the natives by predicting an eclipse of the moon, that he did not perish with his men.

At last he shaped his course again for Spain, where he arrived in 1504, sick and despondent. Isabella, who had been his protectress, had already ceased to exist, and Ferdinand, after repeated requests, permitted him to go and see him and received him with cold protestations of esteem and gratitude. His just demands, that the privileges which had been conceded to him by the treaty of 1492 should be restored to him, were not listened to, and, wounded by so much ingratitude, his strength consumed by the fatigues and trials he had undergone, weakened by illness and plunged in misery, he died at Valladolid on the 12th of May, 1506, at the age of seventy years. His death, by removing him, prevented him hearing the name of Amerigo

Vespucci, a pilot who had accompanied him on one of his voyages, given to the New World discovered by himself.

The injustice and ingratitude with which Columbus was treated in his lifetime, were not, it should seem, sufficient for ungrateful Spain, which attempted to dishonour his memory and deprive him of the glory of his discoveries, by beginning a law-suit in which, with astuteness, although without success, the vaguest and most futile accusations were received from twenty witnesses against that great man, whom they supposed to have gained a knowledge of the New World from a book which existed in the library of Innocent VIII. at Rome, and by a song of Solomon in which the new route to the islands was pointed out.

Distinguished historians and writers of repute have brought grave charges against Columbus. They have accused him for his inordinate desire to obtain gold, for his injustice towards the harmless and confiding inhabitants of America, for his lack of humane sentiments and for his political nullity. Such charges, incontestable at first sight, demonstrate on the one hand, that those who thus judge Columbus, if they are not ignorant of it, at least forget, the religious spirit, or, if you will, the intolerance and fanaticism that reigned in his age, which believed in good faith that heretics and idolaters were beyond the pale of humanity and ought not to be treated with any; and on the other hand, neither have they taken account that if Columbus greedily sought gold, this was due more to the sordid avarice of the sovereigns whom he served and the greed of his men than to his own wishes and feelings. The only charge that we can admit as founded is that Columbus failed in establishing the internal administration of the countries he had discovered, and that, being obliged to satisfy incessant demands for gold, he did not think of the more positive advantages that the colonists might obtain.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE CONQUEST OF SOUTH AMERICA.

THE Bull granted in 1493 by Alexander VI. conceding to the Catholic kings the right of conquest, annexation and government of the West Indies, and threatening those who opposed it with the anger of Almighty God and the blessed apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, which Bull was considered by them the most legitimate and indisputable title of possession, and the concession which, not fulfilling what they had solemnly contracted with Columbus, the sovereigns made in 1495 to all their subjects to enable them to undertake on their own account new discoveries, excited the genius and greed of the Spaniards and opened out new fields for their adventurous and enterprising character, which could not accommodate itself to the tranquillity that their country enjoyed after the expulsion of the Moors. They were seized by the spirit of emulation when the Portuguese Vasco da Gama, by doubling the Cape of Good Hope, opened a sea route to the East Indies, and by the desire of gain when they heard the description of the countries that Columbus had just visited in his third voyage and saw the riches that he had brought back from them. Nothing could now restrain that long series of adventurers who began by exploring and ended by conquering the greater part of the American continent.

Alonso de Ojeda, an excellent and intrepid officer, who had accompanied Columbus in his second voyage, and enjoyed a high reputation, led the way. Assisted by some merchants of Seville, and relying on the powerful protection of Fonseca, Bishop of Badajoz, who furnished him with the diary of the admiral's third voyage and the maps of the countries that he had discovered, he was authorised to fit out four ships and undertake a voyage to the continent of America. He set sail in May, 1499,

accompanied by Amerigo Vespucci, and, without deviating from the course followed by Columbus, arrived at Terra Firma, coasted as far as the Gulf of Paria, and, continuing his voyage westward, reached Cape Vela and discovered a large extent of coast on the other side of that which the admiral had just visited.

In the same year Pedro Alonso Niño, who had accompanied Columbus on his third voyage, in association with Cristóbal Guerra, a merchant of Seville, fitted out a ship and passed over to the coast of Paria without making any discovery of interest, since he confined himself to carrying out his intention of collecting the greatest possible quantity of gold and pearls. Vicente Pinzon, one of the brothers who had assisted and followed Columbus in his first voyage, left Palos with four caravels and was the first European who crossed the line. In 1500 he landed in Brazil and explored 400 miles of coast that no one had before visited, and seeing the outflow of the Marañon, otherwise called the river of the Amazons, he conjectured that the continent through which it flowed must be very large. A few months later, Diego Lepe, like Pinzon, a mariner of Palos, doubled Cape St. Augustine, and saw that the coast extended much farther towards the south-west. Rodrigo de Bastidas and Juan de la Cosa, completing the investigations of Ojeda, doubled Cape Vela in 1501 and explored 100 leagues of unknown coasts, which, some years later, were to acquire sufficient notoriety from the misfortunes that Nicuesa and Ojeda himself suffered on them, and where, shortly after, the port of Nombre de Dios, on the Gulf of Darien, was founded.

While the Spaniards were exploring the continent, the passion, or rather the rage, for discovery that Columbus had impressed on the spirits of his age was also communicated to foreigners, who thought to participate in it, in spite of the Pontifical decision that had divided the New World between the Spaniards and Portuguese. While these two nations were discussing the limits of their possessions and appealing to the line of demarcation laid down by the Pope, the King of France had exclaimed: "I should like to see the will in which Father Adam divided the world between them without leaving me a span of earth". Thus, then, it is not surprising that in 1497 Henry VII.,

who had previously treated with Columbus, favourably received John and Sebastian Cabot, father and son, Venetians settled in Bristol, who left that port with a small fleet in search of unknown lands, although, adopting the ideas of the discoverer of the New World, they sought the extremity of Asia, hoping to find a passage to the Indies which does not exist. Nevertheless, going down towards the south-west they discovered Newfoundland, visited the east coast of North America (Labrador) and, changing their course, doubled the point of Florida, whence, through want of provisions, they returned to Bristol. The English, who in all branches of the naval profession proudly claim to be the first, say that Cabot was for them what Columbus was for the Spaniards, since, they add, if the latter discovered the islands the former discovered the continent. We can very well leave the English in this belief, if they can satisfy their national vanity and pride with it, but not for that will the glory of having been the first discoverer of the New World be wrested from Christopher Columbus.

The Portuguese Pedro Alvarez Cabral, being sent in 1500 by the King of Portugal with three ships to the East Indies, in order to avoid the calms of the Gulf of Guinea, stood out to sea, and being thrown by a storm on some hitherto unknown coast, which he was convinced must be that of a continent, landed and took possession of it in the name of his sovereign. It was the country formerly discovered by Pinzon, to which the name of Brazil was given, from the wood of the colour of fire (brasa) which abounded there. This discovery of the Portuguese, as fortunate as it was casual, demonstrates that, if the genius, courage and perseverance of Columbus had not made America known to Europeans, chance would have realised this great discovery.

But among all the foreigners he deserves especial mention who has had the good fortune to give his name to a world that he did not discover, usurping this merited glory from Columbus. We refer to Amerigo Vespucci, or Vespucio, as the Spaniards call him, a Florentine merchant, who sailed under the command of the admiral and afterwards of Ojeda. He was certainly a man of merit, a good geographer and a good seaman, but nothing more. On his return to Europe, and at the request of one of the princes of the Medici family, he wrote an account of his

adventures and of supposed voyages and discoveries, which, as being the first that was given of the New World, was printed and reprinted in Germany, Italy and France, thus increasing the fame of the Florentine navigator. A German author afterwards published a book on the voyages of Amerigo Vespucci, proposing to give the name of *America* to the New World.<sup>1</sup> The name had great success, was immediately adopted, and was sanctioned by time, the demands that were made by Las Casas, Herrera, Oviedo and other celebrated Spanish historians against the usurpation and the impostor, not being heeded. Now, although the imposture is admitted by all, nevertheless the reparation due to his indisputable merit cannot be made to Columbus, for custom and the routine sanctioned by centuries oppose it. It was reserved for the hero of American independence, the famous Bolívar, to partly repair this injustice by proposing to give the name of Colombia to the republic created by his victories.

Following again the order of events which we have interrupted in order to give an account of the share that some other European nations began to take in the exploration and conquest of America, let us point out the causes which at that time determined the conquests of the Spaniards in our continent. The spirit of discovery being weakened in them because the working of the mines of Hispaniola had absorbed all their attention, they allowed several years to elapse without undertaking any voyage. During this time Nicolás Ovando, who had succeeded Bobadilla in the government of that colony, subjected, in 1505, the whole island of Haiti to the mother country. In this unequal war, in which all the advantages were on the side of the invaders, the aborigines were treated, not as men who are fighting in defence of their liberty and the independence of their country, but as slaves who had rebelled against their masters. The natives, who were subjected to excessive labour in working the mines and cultivating the land, succumbed with such rapidity that the complete extinction of the race appeared inevitable. According to the Spanish historian Herrera, when Columbus discovered Hispaniola it was calculated to contain 1,000,000 inhabitants, who in the space of fifteen years were reduced to 60,000, which

<sup>1</sup> This work, which was published three years after the death of Columbus, bore the title *Cosmographiae introductio insuper quatuor Americi navigationes*.

should not surprise us if we take into account that Columbus had already, in 1500, told the sovereigns: "Since I have left the island, I know that five-sixths of the natives have died through barbarous treatment or cruel inhumanity, some by the sword, others from floggings, many from hunger, the greater number in the mountains and caves where they had fled, because they could not bear the labour that was imposed on them". To remedy this want of hands Ovando fitted out a squadron in 1508, that went to the Bahamas, and, miserably deceiving its simple and credulous inhabitants, transported 40,000 of them to Hispaniola. This was not sufficient to satisfy the need that was felt, and, it being no longer possible to enrich themselves in Hispaniola with as much rapidity as formerly, the Spaniards were obliged to seek new regions sufficiently rich to satisfy their cupidity. Thus, then, Juan Ponce de Leon passed over to San Juan de Puerto Rico, an island discovered by Columbus on his second voyage, settled in it and subdued it in a few years, reducing the natives to slavery and treating them with such severity that the race entirely disappeared.

At the same time (1508) Juan Diaz de Solís and Vicente Pinzon made a voyage to the continent, discovering and coasting the eastern part of the country that was afterwards named the province of Yucatan. A little more than a year afterwards the same Solís and Pinzon embarked together on a second expedition. They went south, towards the equinoctial line, which Pinzon had previously crossed, and advanced as far as 40° south latitude. They saw with great amazement that the continent of America was prolonged on their right hand, extending along the ocean, and although they disembarked at various points and took possession of these fertile countries in the name of their sovereign, they left no colonies in any part. The result of this voyage was to give the Spaniards more exact and complete ideas of this part of the globe.

More than ten years had already passed since Columbus discovered the continent of America, without the Spaniards settling in any part of it, and it was only in the year 1509 that it was seriously attempted, not by the Government, but by bold, greedy and fanatical adventurers, some of whom had acquired a well-deserved celebrity by the extraordinary valour and brilliant

qualities that they displayed in such a daring enterprise. The intrepid Ojeda, who had already made two voyages of discovery, in which he had acquired much reputation but no fortune, was the first who fitted out an expedition destined to settle on the American continent. He was accompanied by Balboa, Juan de la Cosa, Pizarro and others, who were destined to make a figure in the first rank in the history of the conquest of our country ; Hernan Cortez, afterwards so famous, not being able to do so through illness. At the same time Diego de Nicuesa, who had enriched himself in Hispaniola, conceived a similar project. Ferdinand the Catholic approved and encouraged the desires of both, and although he would not lend them any sort of assistance, he lavished titles and patents upon them, appointing Ojeda governor of the countries included between Cape Vela and the Gulf of Darien, and Nicuesa of those situated between this gulf and Cape Gracias á Dios. Ojeda with three ships manned by 300 men, and Nicuesa with six, which carried 780, set out at the same time from San Domingo to go and take possession of their respective governments, carrying ready prepared, in order to give the appearance of legality to the conquest, the formula that the Pope had had drawn up by a commission of scholars and lawyers, and which all the conquerors used afterwards. It is a document worthy of being known from every point of view, and for this reason we transcribe it here without comment :—

“ I, Alonso de Ojeda, the servant of the Most High and Mighty Kings of Castile and Leon, the conquerors of barbarous nations ; I, their ambassador and captain, notify and give you to know, as best I am able, that God our Lord, one and everlasting, created the heaven and the earth, and one man and one woman of whom you and we and all men in the world were and are descendants born, and all those who shall come after us ; but, for the multitude of generations that have proceeded from these for more than five thousand years that the world has been created, it was necessary that some men should go to one part and others to another, and should divide themselves among many kingdoms and provinces, because they could not support and preserve themselves in one alone. From all these nations God our Lord gave a charge to one man, who was called Saint Peter, in order that he should be the Lord and Superior of all men, and whom all

should obey, and that he should be the head of all the human race, wherever men should be and live, and of whatsoever religion, sect or belief they should be; and gave him the whole world for his service and jurisdiction, and although He commanded him to set his seat in Rome, as in the fittest place to rule the world, yet He promised him that he might be, and set his seat, in any other part of the world and judge and govern all nations, Christians, Moors, Indians, Gentiles or of whatever other sect or belief they might be. This man is called Pope, which means admirable, great, Father, guardian, because he is the father and governor of all men. Those who lived at that time obeyed and took this Holy Father, for Lord, King and Superior of the universe, and thus also they have had to do to all those who, after him, have been elected to the Pontificate; and thus it has continued to the present time and will continue to the end of the world.

“One of the past High Priests, whom I have named as Lord of the world, made a donation of these Islands and the Terra Firma in the ocean, with all that in them is, to the Catholic Kings of Castile, who at that time were Ferdinand and Isabella of glorious memory, and to their successors, our Lords, according as it is contained in certain writings, which they confirmed on this subject, as has been said (which you may see if you wish). Thus, then, His Majesty is King and Lord of these Islands and Terra Firma, by virtue of the said donation, and as such King and Lord, some Islands, and almost all, to whom this has been notified, have received His Majesty, and have obeyed, served and do serve him, as subjects should do, with good will and without resistance. Now, without any delay, as soon as they were informed of what is said above, they obeyed the Religious Men whom he sent to them, that they might preach to them and teach them our Holy Faith; and all those of their free will, without reward or any condition, became Christians and are so; and His Majesty received them joyfully and benignantly and thus commanded them to be treated like his other subjects and vassals and you are held and obliged to do the same; therefore, as best I can, I ask and require you to understand well what I have said to you, and to take the necessary time in order to understand and deliberate upon it, and to acknowledge the Church as Mistress and

Superior of the Universal World, and the High Priest, who is named the Pope, and His Majesty in his place, as Superior Lord and King of these Islands and Terra Firma, by virtue of the said donation, and to consent that these Religious Fathers declare and preach what is mentioned above; and if you do so, you will do well, and what you are held and obliged to do; and His Majesty, and I in his name, will receive you in all love and charity and will leave you your wives and children free, without servitude, that you may freely do with them and yourselves what you will, and you will do well, as almost all the inhabitants of the other Islands have done; and further than this, His Majesty will give you many privileges and exemptions and will show you many favours. If you do not do so, or perfidiously use delay, I certify you that, with God's help, I will come against you with force and will make war against you everywhere and in every way that I am able, and will subject you to the yoke and obedience of the Church and of His Majesty, and will take your wives and children and make them slaves, and as such sell and dispose of them, as His Majesty shall command, and I will take from you your goods and will do you all the harm and damage that I can, as vassals who do not obey and will not receive their Lord, but resist and contradict him. And I protest that the death and damage that may result from that shall be your fault and not that of His Majesty, nor ours, nor of these gentlemen who have come with me. And that I tell you this and require it, I demand of the Notary here present that he give me a signed testimony."

The inhabitants of the continent, who did not and could not understand a word of the intimation that was read to them, tenaciously opposed the invasion of their territories, which Ojeda and Nicuesa endeavoured to conquer by arms, but the Indians of the continent were not timid and peaceable like the islanders, but very fierce and warlike, their poisoned arrows causing wounds immediately followed by death. At first they refused to enter into any sort of relations with the strangers, who, they understood, were able to threaten their liberty and independence, and repulsed force by force. For the first time the Spaniards were routed and they understood what they had to fear from a nation that hated them implacably. Perhaps with perseverance the Spaniards might have been able to conquer

these nations, given the superiority of their arms, their ability in the art of war, and their rash intrepidity ; but the elements that caused the destruction of their ships on an unknown coast, the sickness that decimated them, the want of provisions, the dissensions that broke out among them, and the continual hostility of the Indians, brought upon them such an accumulation of calamities that the simple recital of them causes horror. They received two considerable reinforcements from Hispaniola, the greater number of those composing them perished within a year, and with the small number who escaped they formed a small colony in Santa María la Antigua, on the Gulf of Darien, under the command of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, who, by his valour and intelligence, was called to figure in the most brilliant enterprises.

In 1510 Diego Velazquez conquered the Island of Cuba ; in 1512 Ponce de Leon, who had left Puerto Rico with three vessels, with the object of finding a fountain of such marvellous virtue that it would rejuvenate and strengthen all who bathed in its waters, discovered Florida and its east coast as far as lat.  $30^{\circ}$ , without being able to land in any part, from the great resistance that the natives opposed to him. Continuing the exploration at this point, Alvarez de Pineda explored all the Gulf of Mexico and Juan de Grijalba, a country abounding in gold and with signs of an advanced civilisation, to judge by the remains of its architecture and by its temples and idols, to which the name of New Spain was given. As is seen from what we have set down, the Spaniards were already carrying on their explorations in North America, which, equally with South America, was soon to be their prey.

We have already mentioned that Vasco Nuñez de Balboa had been appointed governor of the small colony of Santa María de Darien by his companions, and now, continuing our narrative, we must add that, knowing he would not obtain the confirmation of his nomination from the Crown if he did not accompany his claim with large quantities of gold, he collected as much as he could without having recourse to anything but good treatment towards the natives, and sent an officer to Spain charged with this mission. A young cacique being present at a dispute between the Spaniards about the division of a small quantity of gold, indignantly threw out what was in the scales and said :

"Beyond the other sea, six days' journey from here, there is a country where this metal, the object of your admiration and desires, is so common that you can collect as much as you like, since its inhabitants make their commonest utensils of it". Balboa inferred that the ocean to which the cacique referred was that sought by Columbus in that part of America, hoping to open by it a direct route to the East Indies ; and with the hope of realising what Columbus had attempted in vain, he immediately prepared to undertake an enterprise worthy of his ambition and his daring activity. He began by gaining the friendship of the neighbouring caciques, and by means of rich presents, opportunely distributed, he obtained the necessary protection and help of the Governor of Hispaniola and attracted to his service a large number of adventurers. The total number of his forces amounted to 199 men, all accustomed to the climate of America, and ready to follow him in the greatest dangers. He was accompanied by 1000 Indians to carry the baggage, and by many of those ferocious dogs that caused so much havoc among the Indians against whom they were let loose. Balboa and his men had to undergo many and continuous sufferings in order to cross the isthmus by the lagoons and dangerous defiles and woods traversed hitherto only by wandering savages, arriving at last, after twenty-five days' march, at the foot of a steep mountain, from which the natives affirmed that the sea could be seen. Balboa halted his troops, desiring to be the first to enjoy this spectacle, and on discovering from the summit of the cordillera the immense ocean, he knelt down and raising his hands to heaven gave thanks to God, and while his soldiers, enjoying so splendid a sight, intoned hymns, he went forward until he entered the sea in full armour, and took possession of it in the name of Spain.

That gulf, which was afterwards named the Gulf of Panamá, received from Balboa the name of San Miguel ; and he gave the name of South to the sea, from its position with respect to his road ; and although later Magellan called it the Pacific, this name was as inappropriate as the other, since, extending as it does from pole to pole, and being three times as large as the Atlantic, the name that is most suitable to it is the Great Ocean. Balboa collected from the natives victuals, gold and very many pearls, and received information from them that at a considerable

distance to the eastward there was a rich and powerful kingdom, whose inhabitants had domestic animals which carried burdens. Great as was the impatience of Balboa to see this unknown country, he could not attempt it with the handful of men that he had with him, worn out by fatigue and debilitated by sickness. He thought it more prudent to go back with his companions to the settlement of Santa María de Darien and to return with forces sufficient to attain his purpose.

Balboa hastened to send an account of his important discovery to Spain, begging for a reinforcement of 1000 men, in order to attempt the conquest of these rich regions. The news produced in the mother country at least as much joy as the discovery itself of the New World; and Ferdinand hastened to fit out an expedition with the reinforcements that were demanded, although, as ungrateful to Balboa as he had been to Columbus, he gave the command of these forces to Pedrarias Dávila and appointed him governor of the colony of Darien. He, on his arrival, devastated the country by senseless atrocities, and through hatred, fear and jealousy—defects that are usually found united in weak men who replace those of merit and recognised superiority—ordered Balboa to be hanged, notwithstanding the fact that he had given him his daughter in marriage a short time before. These events obliged the Spaniards to give up for the present the projected expedition for the conquest of Peru.

While the events that we have just related were taking place in the government of Darien, Juan Diaz de Solís, who had set out from Spain with two ships to open a communication by the west with the Moluccas, entered a river to which he gave the name Janeiro (1st January, 1516) and explored a spacious bay that he imagined to be the entrance to the strait that communicated with the sea of the Indies, but was only the mouth of the Rio de la Plata. He attempted a landing in the country, dying with many of his crew at the hands of the natives, who cut them in pieces and cooked and ate them. Four years afterwards, the Portuguese Fernando Magellan, in the service of the Emperor Charles V., set out from Spain at the head of an expedition composed of five ships and 230 men with the intention of finding the desired passage to the Indies. After touching at

Brazil, he went on toward the south. The crews of three of his vessels, headed by their officers, mutinied, being worn out by the sufferings that they had undergone, but he repressed them with as much promptness as severity. On the 31st of March, 1520, he touched at Port St. Julian, where he wintered, without seeing a single inhabitant. At last they discovered some men of unusual stature, who wondered at the smallness of the Spaniards as much as at the great size of their ships; they wore on their feet the skins of the llama, an animal the Spaniards had not seen before, on which account they called them patagones, that is, ill shod. Magellan continued his voyage and at last discovered, in lat.  $53^{\circ}$ , the entrance of the strait which bears his name, by which he entered the Great South Sea, hitherto seen only by Balboa. He was twenty days in passing through the strait, discovering after a long navigation the Philippine Islands, where he perished with part of his crew, defending themselves against the natives of the country.

Until now, as we have seen, the Europeans have confined themselves to being *explorers* who only ventured along the coasts and within reach of their ships. From this moment a new race begins, that of the *conquerors*, who, employing sometimes force of arms, sometimes cunning and treachery, throw themselves like birds of prey upon their booty, annihilating the warlike nations and pillaging and enslaving the pacific tribes. This new race appears with Hernan Cortez, the most celebrated of so many bold conquerors, who, brought up in the school of the terrible Ovando, the Governor of San Domingo, had aided Velazquez to subdue the Island of Cuba. Having proposed to himself the subjugation of Mexico, an empire greater than that of Alexander, he set out in 1518 with ten ships, between 600 and 700 men, eighteen horses, thirteen muskets and fourteen cannon of small calibre. In less than three years he subjugated the powerful empire of Montezuma. Rewarded by Charles V. with the brutal ingratitude usual in kings, the civil administration of the country which the monarch owed to his rash courage was wrested from him. The emperor, in order to free himself from his demands, went so far as to deny him an audience, and it is said, although this is incredible in a vassal, that, enraged at this, passing through the crowd he presented himself before his carriage, and on being

asked who he was : " I am the conqueror of Mexico," he haughtily replied ; " I am he who has given you more provinces than you inherited cities from your ancestors ".

In occupying ourselves with the conquests of the Old over the New World, we must confine ourselves to those which relate to South America properly so called. Its three immense plains, which are watered by the Amazon, the La Plata and the Orinoco, have been the theatre of renowned deeds worthy of the epopee. The heroism of the conquered, the rash courage of the conquerors, recall the fabulous times; and dominating those scenes of butchery, of ferocious grandeur, appear the friar and the priest displaying a terrible zeal, overturning temples, breaking in pieces images, destroying hieroglyphics, baptising the Indians, by fair means or foul, and, in fine, mingling rivers of holy water with seas of blood.

While Hernan Cortez was triumphing in Mexico, three men, who did not, like the rest of their fellow-countrymen, consider chimerical the enterprise of discovering and conquering the country spoken of by Balboa, determined to join together to undertake the execution of his project. These men, extraordinary from more than one point of view, were Francisco Pizarro, Diego de Almagro and Fernando Luque. Pizarro was a bastard, had been a swineherd and could not read or write. Almagro was a foundling, who had taken the name of his native place, and Luque, a Dominican monk, was the teacher of divinity in the church at Panamá. Such were the men destined to overturn one of the greatest and richest empires of the world ! Their association was authorised by Pedrarias, the Governor of Panamá, and the three put together all their wealth to form the capital of the undertaking. Pizarro, who was poor, could only contribute his courage, taking for his part the command of the expedition in person, and the other two, who were rich, especially Luque, providing the necessary resources. They took a solemn oath, eating together a consecrated wafer, not to fail in their plighted faith and loyalty ; and thus a contract, whose object was pillage and destruction, was ratified in the name of the God of Peace.

Pizarro set out from Panamá, on the 14th November, 1524, with one ship and 120 men ; but as this took place in the worst season of the year, and he only succeeded in discovering marshy

lands and inaccessible woods, although he continued resolute and hopeful, his companions, decimated by fatigue, hunger and combats with the natives of the country, and, above all, by the diseases peculiar to humid countries, after three years of wandering and sufferings, were recalled by the governor and returned to Panamá, where they had to endure the jests of their compatriots. Twelve only of his soldiers kept up their courage with Pizarro, who was not disposed to give up his enterprise. They remained in the Island of Gallona, suffering a thousand misfortunes and the most frightful misery; nor did the courage of these thirteen men diminish in the smallest degree on that account. Almagro and Luque did not desert them, and it was owing to their entreaties that a ship was fitted out with which Pizarro set out for Peru, which he discovered in twenty days, disembarking at Tumbez, a town of some importance, in which there were a large temple and a palace of the Incas, the sovereigns of the country. Everywhere the Spaniards met with signs of a very ancient civilisation, and perceiving by this that they had not to do with a barbarous nation, and that they were very few to establish themselves in the country, they returned to Panamá, whence Pizarro had departed three years before.

Notwithstanding the accounts that he gave of the opulence of the countries he discovered, the Governor of Panamá refused to sanction an expedition for the conquest of Peru, which might, according to him, ruin the province which he had in charge; but the three associates were not discouraged by this, rather, they were more firmly resolved than ever to carry out their project, and they agreed that Pizarro should set out for Spain, as he did, in fact, and obtained by entreaty from the monarch what he could not obtain from the governor. The intrepid adventurer presented himself to the emperor, who, impressed by the dignity of the petitioner, by the account of their sufferings and the description of the countries that he had discovered, approved the project of a new expedition, and appointed him governor, captain-general and *adelantado* of the country that he had discovered and of those that he hoped to discover, with absolute authority both in civil and military affairs. He nominated Luque to the bishopric of the country that was to be conquered, but only conceded to Almagro the command of the fortress that was to be

erected in Tumbez. In exchange for all these concessions which cost nothing to the court of Spain, Pizarro undertook to raise 250 men and to provide himself with ships, arms and munitions to subdue for the Crown of Castile the country whose government had been conceded to him. The funds that Pizarro had at his disposal were so small, and his credit also, that he would not have been able to fulfil his engagements without the help that Hernan Cortez lent him from his private funds, and also some of his own relations.

Pizarro landed at Nombre de Dios in 1529, and crossed the Isthmus of Panamá accompanied by his three brothers Fernando, Juan and Gonzalo, who rendered him such good service. On his arrival at Panamá, Pizarro met Almagro, indignant at the bad faith of his partner, who had excluded him from the power and honours to which he was so legitimately entitled. Pizarro, in order to prevent a rupture that might be fatal to his projects, offered to give up to Almagro the office of *adelantado*, which he would ask the emperor to confirm, and at the same time to give him an independent government. Upon this they were reconciled, and the partnership was renewed under the previous conditions.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the three associates, they were only able to get together three small vessels with 180 men, of whom thirty-six were cavalry; but the victories of the Spaniards in America had given them such an idea of their superiority, that Pizarro did not hesitate to undertake, in 1531, with this handful of men, the conquest of a great empire. Four ecclesiastics, Luque, Valverde, Pedraza and Olias, accompanied the "army" by express command of Charles V. While Almagro remained in Panamá collecting forces, Pizarro set out and accomplished his voyage in thirteen days, disembarking his troops in the bay of San Mateo, from which point, marching southward, he arrived in the province of Coaque, where he surprised the inhabitants of a city in which gold and silver so abounded that there was sufficient to ensure the success of the enterprise. He sent part of the booty to Almagro and another part to Nicaragua, to be distributed among persons of influence, hoping that this specimen of the riches that he had acquired in so short a time would cause fresh adventurers to place themselves under his command. Nor

was he deceived. From Nicaragua came two detachments under the command of Benalcazar and Soto, two of the best officers who were serving in America. After having settled, near the mouth of the river Piura, the first Spanish colony in Peru, to which he gave the name of San Miguel, he marched towards the capital, announcing himself as the ambassador of a powerful monarch, and declaring that he came with no hostile intentions.

At the period of the Spanish invasion the Empire of Peru, thus named by them because this was the first word that they heard pronounced in it, measured 4000 kilometres from north to south, its width from east to west being only from 600 to 800 kilometres. Peru, like the rest of the New World, was in its origin divided into many independent tribes, who lived in a savage state until, according to tradition, their father the Sun, having compassion on them, sent a man and a woman of majestic appearance, who appeared to them on the shores of Lake Titicaca, to instruct them. Manco-Capac and Mama-Oella, which were the names of these children of the Sun, founded Cuzco, the capital of the kingdom, subduing and civilising the neighbouring nations and founding the family of the Incas, who never abandoned the throne. But the monuments with which the kingdom was covered, and which show signs of a civilisation no less noteworthy than ancient, must be, for the historian, much more worthy of consultation than these fabulous traditions. In Tiauanacu there were ruined palaces and statues and great masses of stones; on the shores of Lake Chucuitu there was a public place fifteen fathoms square, surrounded with houses two storeys high, and a covered hall forty-five feet long by twenty-two feet wide, forming one room, that was adorned with numerous statues. Public opinion attributed these buildings to a bearded people with a different dress from the moderns, much anterior to the Incas. Was this nation of distinct race, or the same as that of their new civilisers, symbolised by Manco-Capac?

Manco-Capac taught the people the worship of the Sun, agriculture and the other useful arts, and Mama-Oella taught the women the art of spinning and weaving. Manco-Capac placed in each village a *curaca* to govern it, erected a temple to the god who had sent him, which was served by immaculate

virgins, and gave the Peruvians a particular head-dress, consisting of a sort of band round the head and large ear-rings such as he wore, and these ornaments became a national distinction. His first-born, Sinchi-Roca, settled the civil government of the country and undertook the conquest of the neighbouring nations, not with the desire of extending his empire, but, like modern missionaries, with the wish to diffuse civilisation among barbarous tribes, communicating to them his knowledge and arts. The Incas and their family married between brothers and sisters, in order not to contaminate the race of the Sun.

One of the Incas had received in dreams predictions and advice from an old man, who, contrary to the custom of the country, wore a thick white beard and long robes, saying that he was the brother of the Sun and was named Viracocha. Another Viracocha predicted that within a short time there would come an unknown people who would destroy the empire and the religion ; and it was chiefly to these prophecies that the success of the Spaniards was due. They were designated by the name of Viracochas, because they resembled the old man of the prediction in beard and dress, and were considered at first as sent from heaven, and afterwards as an inevitable fatality. This information is due to Garcilaso de la Vega, a descendant of the Incas, and a captain in the Spanish army.

The *Royal Commentaries* of Garcilaso, the writings of his contemporaries, and the monuments that have survived, show us what the Peruvian nation was. The Incas governed with an authority as absolute as it was unlimited and which was somewhat theocratic, and disobedience, like all other errors and crimes, was considered as impiety and punished with death. The priesthood and important offices were reserved for the royal family ; four lieutenants governed the four principal districts, each having a council of Incas, like the emperor, to whom they gave an account of their acts. The *curacas*, or hereditary governors of the provinces, formed a second nobility, and were bound to send to the king every year gold, precious stones and woods, balsams, dyes and other productions that were not used in ordinary life, and had to present themselves in Cuzco every two years and give an account of their acts.

At every mile along the roads there were *tambos* or huts with

five or six men who transmitted from one to another the news from the *curacas* to the court or from the court to the *curacas*. These huts served also as store-houses for the Inca and his attendants, when he travelled. They were ignorant of writing, for which reason their history has been preserved by tradition alone, but they used the *quipos* or knotted cords of various colours, in order to keep a register of the population and of the different productions that were stored up for the service of the nation.

Their moral code could not be more simple ; it was reduced to three prohibitions : not to steal, not to be idle and not to lie. Believing that public and private misfortunes were originated by crimes, they denounced even the most secret to the judges, but even thus, according to Garcilaso de la Vega, there was scarcely one crime punished in a year.

The landed property of the empire was divided into three parts : one for the Sun, the products of which were employed in the construction and repair of the temples and the expenses of worship ; another for the Inca, who provided for the necessities of the state and the cost of government ; and the third, which was the largest, belonged to the communes—that is to say, to the people, who cultivated it in common and for whose subsistence it was destined. To the charge of these fell the cultivation of the lands of the Sun and of the Incas, labour in their palaces, on the bridges, roads and other public works, and the fabrication of arms against the time that the government should need them. The children of the Sun, in order to set an example, themselves cultivated a field near Cuzco, and this they called triumphing over the earth. They were very advanced in agriculture ; by means of artificial canals they could conveniently distribute the waters of the torrents, fertilising the sandy lands which were never watered by the rains, supporting the soil on the mountains with stone walls, and manuring it with the excrement of birds.

Worthy of remembrance are some of the laws of these kings, who considered the love and blessings of their subjects as their chief riches. The inhabitants of each canton, not excluding the poor, met two or three times a month to partake of a banquet which was presided over by the *curaca*. The public store-houses furnished food and clothing for the blind, dumb, lame and other cripples ; the old who could no longer work were main-

tained by the commune, and were employed in scaring the birds from the sown lands. The subject who was distinguished by his public or private virtues was rewarded with robes made in the royal palace. All were obliged to work from the age of five years, making their clothes, their houses and the instruments of labour. The doors of all the houses were to remain open during the hours of repose in order that the judges might enter and examine them.

But although the laws tended to draw closer the bonds of mutual affection between the citizens, these were divided into castes ; some called yanacunas were slaves, destined to carry burdens from one part to another and to other heavy labour ; others were free men, but had no office or hereditary dignity ; then followed those called orejones (big ears) by the Spaniards, on account of the ear-rings or ornaments that they wore in their ears—these constituted the body of the nobility and filled all the civil and military offices ; and at the head of the nation, in the highest employments, and exercising the priesthood, which was reserved for them, were the children of the Sun, the members of the royal family.

The superiority of the industry of the Peruvians over that of the other American nations is unquestionable. No country could boast of having such good roads, although they possessed no other beasts of burden than the llama and the huanaco, which can only carry light loads. They crossed rivers and valleys by means of bridges, which sometimes consisted of ropes stretched across, along which they made a basket run, in which the passengers went ; at other times they were made of six or more very thick ropes of osier and climbing plants, that they stretched side by side from one bank to the other, fastening them securely at each end, and these cables were twisted round with thinner ropes that they might remain united, forming a kind of net, which, being first covered with the branches of trees and then with earth, was converted into a sufficiently safe bridge. The remains of the canals, roads and fortresses, which astonished the first conquerors, astonish even now. These truly cyclopean structures consist of enormous mounds, of large masses placed at a great height, but not knowing how to work the stones they placed them in such a manner as to fit exactly, a difficult and

tiresome operation. The fortress of Cuzco surpassed all these constructions, in which there were stones whose dimensions exceed anything that can be imagined, raised there and fitted together by the strength of thousands of arms. As they were ignorant of lime, brick, the arch and carpentry, they could not make roofs nor give convenience to their habitations. They knew how to carve, since the elegant vases that are found in their sepulchres are carved, although very rudely. They collected gold and extracted silver, but only from the surface of the earth; they knew how to smelt and purify ores; they mixed copper with tin in order to make instruments with which to work hard bodies.

They were acquainted with many medicines, and among them the Peruvian bark, which is of such great utility. They had some knowledge of astronomy, although they only applied it to the Sun, Moon and the planet Venus; of their calendar, if they had one, very little is known, as also of their ancient history, since the *quipos* or *quicos*—knotted cords of various colours—that some writers present to us as annals of the empire, were a very imperfect substitute for writing, with which they were not acquainted.

In their festivals and public ceremonies, besides performing a grand dance in a circle, holding hands, in numbers that sometimes reached 300, comedies and tragedies were performed in the court. They preserved and handed down the memory of the deeds of the heroes, or expressed their passions, by means of songs, but what we might call their literature did not make much progress because, as we have already mentioned, they were ignorant of writing.

They worshipped the Sun, to which they sacrificed rabbits, meal and fruits, supposing him to be the first minister of the omnipotent Pachacamac. One thousand five hundred virgins, chosen from the families of the Incas, were dedicated to his service, who, shut up in a convent and forbidden to see any man, were occupied in preparing everything necessary for the worship and in maintaining the sacred fire. If they lost their chastity they were buried alive and their family and that of their accomplice were exterminated. Besides the Sun they also worshipped the Moon and the Stars and some idols

which they considered oracles. The Incas never stained their altars with human blood; but they preserved the barbarous custom of the American savages of beheading over the tomb of the Inca who died, and even of high personages, a large number of his domestics and favourite wives, in order that with them he might present himself in the other world with becoming dignity. The art of embalming the dead had arrived at such a high degree of perfection among the Peruvians, that their mummies were preserved without decomposition for many centuries. Weddings were celebrated at a fixed time, according to the will of the Inca or the *curaca*, and always between relations or fellow-citizens. The woman went out of doors very seldom after she was married, devoting herself to spinning and weaving. The weaning of the children was a very important domestic ceremony.

From what has been said it will be perceived that the Peruvians were a nation whose actions breathed gentleness and resignation; that if the nation were rich, its citizens were not happy; that they blindly obeyed the royal decrees, which they considered divine, without having a real love of their country; nor were they capable of bold undertakings, everything, even the most indifferent actions of life, being methodised, they had no grandeur of ideas nor elevation of character. The most complicated institutions of human society had stifled individual liberty, without which all progress is impossible, and in order to make men happy they had reduced them to the condition of statues.

This was the country that Pizarro proposed to explore and conquer. Huaiana-Capac, the twelfth emperor, had subdued the kingdom of Quito, and not content with fixing his residence in the capital of this rich province, violating the ancient law that prohibited the Incas from contaminating the blood royal by foreign alliances, had married the daughter of the dethroned king. From this marriage sprang a son, named Atahualpa, to whom at his death he left the kingdom of Quito, while his brother, Huascar, of pure royal blood, inherited the remainder of his states. Huascar demanded that Atahualpa should renounce the kingdom of Quito, and for this reason a civil war broke out which resulted in the triumph of Atahualpa, who, although he

respected his brother's life, endeavoured to extinguish the royal line, by destroying all the children of the Sun, the descendants of Manco-Capac.

When Pizarro disembarked in the bay of San Mateo the empire was plunged in civil war, and to this circumstance, so favourable for him, he owed the power of advancing to the centre of the kingdom without being molested by the Peruvian forces. On taking the road to Caxamalca, an officer sent by Atahualpa, the conquering Inca, came to meet Pizarro bringing rich presents, offering the friendship of his master and assuring him that he would be well received in Caxamalca. On entering this city Pizarro took possession of a large court or square and posted his troops so as conveniently to seize the person of Atahualpa during the interview to which he had invited him, without showing any scruple at such execrable treachery which was to cover him with shame and dishonour him before posterity. The Inca, trusting in the reiterated protests of the Spaniards, wished to go and meet him. He arrived, preceded by four runners, borne on a rich throne adorned with feathers of brilliant colours and almost covered with plates of gold and silver set with precious stones, and followed by many of his courtiers with no less splendid dresses ; behind them went singers and dancers and lastly 30,000 soldiers.

The chaplain, Valverde, advancing with a crucifix in his hand to meet the Inca, set forth to him the usual reasons (those of the formula that Ojeda was the first to employ), which the emperor could only understand in the part where he was invited to become converted to Christianity and acknowledge himself a vassal of Spain. Scarcely had the Inca responded with the indignation that such propositions deserved when Pizarro gave the signal of attack ; the trumpets sounded, the cannon and muskets thundered, and the cavalry and infantry charged the astonished Peruvians. During the action, as Gomara and Benzoni relate, Father Valverde, the minister of a God of peace and charity, ceased not to urge the soldiers to the butchery, advising them to strike with the point and not the edge of the sword. Pizarro, with a handful of the most resolute soldiers, immediately made for the Inca, whom he made prisoner, notwithstanding that his body-guards sacrificed themselves eagerly to defend him. This was sufficient to decide

the flight of all the Peruvian troops, who, pursued by the Spaniards during the day, were destroyed in cold blood with horrible cruelty. More than 4000 defenceless Peruvians were left dead without the Spaniards losing a man. The booty which they collected exceeded the exaggerations of their cupidity. In this manner treachery and superiority in arms and valour gave a powerful empire into the hands of an adventurer who had under his command no more than 160 men and three guns.

Shortly after this the Spaniards received a reinforcement led by Almagro, and doubling their numbers with this they decided to explore the country, being well received everywhere through the commands that they had caused Atahualpa, whom they retained as a prisoner, to give. On their march to Cuzco they visited his brother Huascar in the place where, since his defeat, he was kept in captivity, and he endeavoured to demonstrate to them the justice of his cause and to induce them to undertake his defence, offering them a much larger quantity of gold than his brother was able to do. On learning this Atahualpa commanded him to be put to death, and, understanding that the sole passion of the Spaniards was for gold, he offered for his ransom to fill the room in which he was, which was twenty-two feet long by sixteen feet wide, with gold, as high as a man could reach with his hand. These agreeable offers being accepted by Pizarro the Inca gave orders to carry out what he had promised. The natives then began to bring in gold, and already 75,000,000 duros had been collected when the cupidity of the conquerors, excited by the sight of such heaps of gold, could not be restrained. They threw themselves upon them and divided them among themselves, each cavalry man receiving about 40,000 duros and each foot soldier about 8000, after deducting the fifth due to the Crown, and 100,000 pesos for the soldiers who had lately come with Almagro. Many seeing their services so splendidly rewarded showed a wish to return to their country, and Pizarro allowed them to go that they might spread the news of what was done.

The Inca demanded the fulfilment of the promise that had been made to set him at liberty; but Pizarro, with no fear of the fresh blot that he was going to cast on his name, and even on that of his country, had already resolved to put him to death, under pretext that he incited his vassals to take up arms against

the Spaniards, although really because he could obtain no more gold from him, and also for the contempt he had shown for him, when by chance he learnt that Pizarro's education was inferior to that of his soldiers, since he could not read. To give some appearance of legality to this infamous crime, they brought him to trial, and the judges, Pizarro, Almagro and two other officers, condemned him to be burned alive, a sentence that Father Valverde had no hesitation in confirming by the authority of his sacred office, and approving by his signature. The tears, promises, and supplications of the unfortunate Atahualpa that he should be sent to Spain to be tried by its monarch, were useless ; he only succeeded in obtaining that he should be hanged, instead of being burned alive, by having previously consented to receive baptism. The court of Spain, that court which had taken so much pleasure in persecuting the magnanimous Columbus, had nothing but approbation and honours for Pizarro and his accomplices, who had sent it immense heaps of gold and silver, and added seventy leagues of coast to the dominions that it had conceded to the former, appointing Almagro governor or *adelantado* of the 200 leagues of country that commenced from the southern boundary of the government of his associate, that is the territory of Chili.

On the death of Atahualpa, the discord that broke out among the Peruvians facilitated their complete subjugation by the Spaniards, since, while they invested one of the young sons of that unfortunate prince with the royal dignity, the people of Cuzco and the neighbouring countries proclaimed Manco-Capac Inca, and some ambitious generals, among others he who commanded in Quito, proclaimed themselves independent in their respective territories. Pizarro, taking advantage of these disorders, did not hesitate to advance on Cuzco, the capital of the empire, of which he succeeded in gaining possession in 1533. This city, situated high up on a mountain, had large streets which crossed each other at right angles and was surrounded by two rivers with magnificent causeways and formidable castles. The citadel, constructed of Cyclopean stones, was surrounded by a triple wall, and its gate was closed with a very large stone. The round tower of the citadel served as the apartments of the Incas and its walls were covered with plates of gold and silver.

The temple of the Sun surpassed in riches anything that the Spaniards had hitherto seen or imagined. The walls were covered with plates of gold ; on the high altar the effigy of the god was placed on a thick plank of gold extending from one side of the temple to the other ; the embalmed bodies of the Incas were seated on golden thrones ; all the gates of the temple were of the same metal, and the pavilion dedicated to the Moon, in which the bodies of the queens were deposited, was all of silver. Two magnificent roads started from Cuzco, they were 500 leagues in length and united the capital with Quito, one along the sea-shore, the other over the mountains, the valleys that they crossed being filled up and the mountains levelled. The riches of which the Spaniards became masters were immense ; it suffices to say that they much exceeded the ransom of Atahualpa. "Nor were they satisfied with this," says Gomara, "since the more riches they discovered the greater was their greed. They were most anxious to discover the treasures of Huascar<sup>1</sup> and the other great nobles of Cuzco, but they could not succeed in this, nor was there an Indian who would reveal them, although many were put to the torture." The Peruvians, in fact, exasperated by the barbarous treatment of their conquerors, and feeling themselves powerless to recover their liberty, wished to withdraw their immense treasures from the rapacity of their executioners, and they concealed them so successfully that they have never been able to be found. And not satisfied with this, with the rage produced by despair, in order that their implacable enemies should not enjoy the sumptuous palaces, and the magnificent temples erected by their ancestors, they overthrew and destroyed the grand monuments of their ancient civilisation, a work in which they were stupidly seconded by the Spaniards.

In the same year, 1533, Benalcazar, the governor of the colony of San Miguel, set out from there with some troops, with the intention of subduing Quito, where, according to the Peru-

<sup>1</sup> Among these was a gold chain that his mother Huyana commanded to be made for his birthday, to enclose the great square of Cuzco, where they celebrated auspicious events with dances. This chain was 700 feet long and so thick that 200 strong men could scarcely carry it ; this prince owed his name to it, since in the Quechua language Huascar signifies chain.

vians, Atahualpa had left the greater part of his treasures. They underwent many dangers and fatigues, not only because the country that they passed through was mountainous and covered with woods, but also because they were frequently attacked by the Peruvian troops. At last they entered victorious into Quito, but they suffered a great disappointment, since the inhabitants, knowing the dominant passion of the Spaniards, had removed all their riches. With the taking of this important city terminated the conquest of Peru, whose inhabitants, who were naturally quiet and peaceable, submissively obeyed their invaders, fulfilling the commands of their Inca, Manco-Capac, who had voluntarily submitted, in order that they might recognise him as emperor.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE CONQUEST OF SOUTH AMERICA, CONTINUED.

PERU being now conquered, the Spaniards, led by their enterprising and adventurous character, were soon to extend their raids to the neighbouring territories and make themselves masters of them, employing the same or analogous methods to those they had hitherto put in practice. Let us see how and when this happened.

Of the three extraordinary men who had associated together for the conquest of Peru, Luque had died before gathering the fruits of his sacrifices, and Almagro and Pizarro, who in adversity, when they were mere soldiers of fortune, were united by a truly fraternal love, were to hate each other mortally, through the bad faith and perfidy by which the latter had obtained for himself alone the honours and advantages that, according to their compact, should have been shared with the former. As soon as Almagro knew that he had obtained an independent government for himself from Charles V., he asserted that Cuzco was included between the territory conceded to him and that assigned to Pizarro, and made preparations to seize this important city. Juan and Gonzalo Pizarro endeavoured to repel him, and the dispute was about to be decided by arms when Francisco Pizarro arrived, and by ability, united to firmness, was able to prevent a rupture; they were again reconciled, it being agreed that Almagro should attempt the conquest of Chili, and in case he should not be able to find an establishment worthy of him in that country, Pizarro, to indemnify him, would cede to him a part of Peru.

In consequence of this agreement, Almagro set out on his march to Chili, in 1535, with a body of troops whose number amounted to 570 men. He chose the shortest route, crossing

the mountains and suffering the rigours of a climate so severe that many men and horses perished of cold before reaching the plains of Copiapo. Then they had fresh obstacles to overcome, since they met with strong and fierce natives, who wore the skins of the seal and sea wolf, and who not only bravely resisted, but, after being routed, rose again and attacked the Spaniards with intrepidity. These, however, continued advancing into the country and collecting large quantities of gold, without settling anywhere, when they were suddenly recalled to Peru, where a revolution had broken out, so serious that the Indians held Pizarro besieged in Lima, and intercepted all communication between that city and Cuzco, which was attacked by 200,000 Peruvians and defended by the three brothers of the conqueror with 170 Spaniards.

What had happened in Peru since the departure of Almagro for Chili? Manco-Capac, who reigned in Cuzco, although only in name and under the guardianship of Pizarro and the vigilance of his three brothers, was able, from his palace, which had become his prison, to concert with some loyal friends who desired to regain the liberty of their country and destroy their oppressors; and taking advantage of the permission that was accorded him of being present at a festival that was to be held at a few leagues from the capital, he joined with the nobles of the empire, unfurled the sacred standard, raised the war-cry and instantly all the Peruvians rose from the confines of the province of Quito to the frontiers of Chili, putting to death many Spaniards who were living quietly and securely on the estates they had obtained, and exterminating various detachments that were traversing a country which they believed to be thoroughly subjugated. Pizarro, who was in Lima, a town six miles distant from Callao, the most commodious of the harbours in the Pacific, saw himself besieged by the natives and obliged to defend himself from their attacks for the space of nine months with a handful of brave men, while his brothers were suffering the like fate in Cuzco, one half of which was already in the possession of the Peruvians, who had sent the greater part of their forces against it.

Such was the situation of Peru when Almagro arrived, who, in order to learn with some degree of certainty the events that

had happened during his absence, advanced towards the capital slowly and circumspectly. The Inca, who knew his hatred towards the Pizarros and the claims that he had to the possession of Cuzco, believing it to be included in the territory that had been marked out for him, conducted himself with much ability, exerting himself to gain him over ; but if Almagro desired to deprive the Pizarros of the possession of the capital, he did not the less desire to prevent the Peruvians seizing it, and fell upon them with his troops, routed and dispersed them completely, and afterwards attacking the brothers of Pizarro, one of whom, Juan, had succumbed during the siege, obliged them to capitulate. A year later Almagro was, in his turn, defeated on the plains of Cuzco, and falling into the hands of Pizarro, who had dispersed the Peruvians who were attacking Lima, was condemned to be hanged in prison and afterwards decapitated in the public square. Dishonouring himself by begging for mercy of an enemy who never knew it, availed him nothing, since the sentence pronounced was carried out in April, 1538. Almagro was seventy-five years old at his death, and appointed a son whom he had had by an Indian woman of Panamá as his successor in his government. Manco-Capac retired to the Andes, and with him terminated the Peruvian empire.

After the death of Almagro, Pizarro, wishing to find employment for the restless activity of his officers, whose eager desire for conquests was not even yet satisfied, sent them out in different directions. The most memorable of the expeditions carried out at this time was that of Gonzalo Pizarro, who commanded in Quito. He was entrusted by his brother with the discovery and conquest of the countries situated to the east of the Andes, and set out at the head of 340 men and 4000 Indians to carry the baggage. The excessive cold and fatigue caused the greater part of the Indians and many of the Spaniards to succumb ; but the latter, led away by the false accounts that were given them of the wealth of the country they were going to discover, which they called El Dorado, and in which they supposed there were mountains rich in spices and cinnamon, and above all in gold, of which metal the tiled roofs and the gates of the city of Manoa were made, bravely continued on their road until they arrived at the valley of Zumaco, where

they saw on all sides cinnamon trees different from those of Ceylon. Following the banks of a broad and deep river, the Napo, without finding a place where they could ford it, they threw large trunks of trees across two rocks of great height, which rose from the water, and thus succeeded in crossing with great danger. In order to cross the rivers, stow the baggage and lighten their loads, with great labour they built a boat, which they calked with the few shirts that they had left and with gum from the trees. This was manned by fifty soldiers under the command of Francisco de Orellana, whom Pizarro ordered to go down the river, letting himself drift with the stream, and if he found provisions to return and meet him, waiting for him at the place where they supposed, from the information of the natives, was the confluence of the Napo and the Marañon. Orellana did so and arrived at a point where one river unites with another ; but considering himself now independent, and allowing himself to be carried away by the dominant passion of that age, and forgetting the desperate situation in which he had left his companions, he proposed to make some important discovery, exploring the vast countries traversed by the Marañon until it falls into the ocean. This project, as perfidious as it was hazardous, was carried out with rash courage. On the 31st December, 1540, he and his men had already eaten their shoes, the saddles of their horses and whatever they could, carried along continually by the stream, which took them twenty-five leagues a day. Some perished fighting with the savage tribes that they met with, others under most horrible sufferings comparable alone to their courage ; and after a navigation of 1700 leagues entered the ocean in the month of August following, arriving at length at the Spanish settlement in the Island of Cubagua, whence they departed for Spain. On arriving in their country they related wonders of the El Dorado that they pretended to have visited, and gave a circumstantial description of a republic composed of women alone, whence it came that this river was called the river of the Amazons. The existence of this republic, believed by many, denied and ridiculed by others, is traditional in the country. M. de la Condamine, who, carried away by his love of the sciences, travelled in the middle of the eighteenth century over the same road as Orellana, says on this

subject : "During our voyage we everywhere asked the Indians of different nations about these warlike women, and all answered that they had heard speak of them by their elders, adding many particulars worthy of laughter, which tend to confirm the fact that there had really existed there a republic of women living without men, and that they retired towards the north, to the interior of the country, by the river Negro or by some other of those rivers which, on the same side, flow into the Marañon".

When Gonzalo Pizarro arrived at the confluence of the Napo and the Marañon, where he had appointed Orellana to meet him, he saw with terror that neither he nor the provisions were there ; and although he attributed his failure to some unfortunate accident, he and his men took in all the horror of their situation, and for this reason, without courage to proceed farther, they agreed to return to Quito, 400 leagues distant. Unspeakable were the hardships that the Spaniards suffered on their return. At length, after an absence of two years, they entered Quito with Pizarro, reduced to eighty men; the remainder and the 4000 Indians who accompanied them had perished on this unfortunate expedition.

Before going farther, we must give an account, although it be a slight one, of the conquest of other countries that was carried out before the expedition of Gonzalo Pizarro.

The conquest of Nueva Granada was undertaken in 1536 by Sebastian de Benalcazar and by Gonzalo Jimenez de Quesada in 1537. The former, who at that time commanded in Quito, attacked the country on the south, occupying Pasto and Popayan where he founded Guayaquil, penetrated into the valleys of Cauca and Bogotá, and arrived at the sea of the Antilles, after having traversed the whole of Nueva Granada. The second, leaving Santa Marta with 885 Spaniards and a great many baptised Indians, whom Las Casas, Zambrano and two other missionaries had preceded, went in search of a country rich in gold, that of the most opulent Prince Bogotá. After many months employed in travelling with great labour through the cordilleras, they arrived at the much-desired country. The missionaries promised peace to the Indians in the name of Christ, and these made no opposition, receiving them with great festivities as children of the Sun. The natives, marking the

insatiable greed of the Spaniards, that was so far removed from the peace and justice of the Gospel which the missionaries had promised them, rose against their oppressors, but fell, as they always did, before the valour and superiority in arms of their conquerors ; many returned to their obedience at the instigation of Las Casas and at length Quesada entered Bogotá. The Spaniards found wealth in this city that surpassed their greatest expectations, and a civilisation that has been compared to that of the ancient Egyptians. According to tradition, the Indians Muyscas or Moscas or Chibchas, for the natives of the country conquered by Quesada have been designated by all these names, lived as barbarians, without agriculture, without laws and without worship, when there appeared among them an old man coming from the plains situated at the east of the cordillera of Chingaza, who appeared to be of a distinct race from the natives, and wore a long thick beard. He was known by three different names, Bochica, Nemquetheba and Zuhé, and like Manco-Capac, taught men to wear clothes, build huts, cultivate the land and live in societies. He brought with him a woman, to whom tradition gives three names also, Chia, Inbecayguya and Huythaca, of rare beauty but as great wickedness, who opposed her husband in everything that he undertook for the good of his fellows, and by her magical arts increased the river Funza, whose waters inundated the valley of Bogotá, causing the death of the greater part of its inhabitants. The old man being angry exiled the beauteous Huythaca far from the earth and changed her into the Moon. Bochica then dried up the valley, brought the people back to it again, built cities and introduced the worship of the Sun. This tradition is in its essence sufficiently like those of various nations of our continent, and, like them all, contributed to the advantage of the conquerors, who were held to be descendants or envoys of Bochica.

Bochica was not only considered to be the founder of the new worship and the legislator of the Muyscas but also the symbol of the Sun, he regulated the time, and the invention of the calendar was attributed to him. Thus, as the language of Peru was called Quechua, that of the Muyscas or Moscas is known under the name of Chibcha. The word Muysca, of which doubtless Mosca is a corruption, signifies man or person.

Going farther inland the Spaniards conquered another country, and the very rich kingdom of Tunca whose king they took, and afterwards Sagamosco, a city that had a temple of wonderful structure, enriched with the offerings collected from the believers during many ages. This temple having been burnt by accident, the Muyscas believed themselves abandoned by their god ; and as the high priest of his worship was converted to Christianity, very many followed him, becoming in this manner subjects of Spain. The Spaniards returned with much gold, but their retreat was very laborious, many dying of hunger and others by the hands of the Indians. They wished to avenge themselves and killed the king Tizquesuca ; his successor, Seguesayipa, was also hanged with all his family, under unworthy pretexts, after obliging him to reveal the treasures of his predecessor. Thus was founded the kingdom of Nueva Granada, having Santa Fê for its capital.

The country situated to the east of the settlement of Santa Marta, which is now the capital of the state of Magdalena, was visited for the first time in 1499 by Alonso de Ojeda ; the Spaniards, observing some Indian villages built on piles on the islands of Lake Maracaibo, gave it the name of Venezuela or Little Venice. The attempts that they made to settle in the country were fruitless, obtaining possession of it at last by very different means from those hitherto employed. Charles V., being in want of money to carry out his ambitious projects, sold the province of Venezuela to the house of Welser of Augsburg, that they might hold it as an hereditary fief from the Crown of Castile, on condition of conquering it and settling a colony in it, authorising them to reduce the natives who would not work to slavery. The Germans, instead of establishing a colony, spread themselves over the country in search of gold mines, robbing and maltreating the Indians and imposing labours on them that they were not able to perform. Their exactions, which were very much greater than those of the Spaniards, so completely desolated this province, that, not being able to find subsistence, they were compelled to abandon it, and then the Spaniards entered and took possession of it.

To the east of the Andes immense regions extend from north to south, which may with sufficient propriety be divided into two

parts, one to the north, the other to the south of the river La Plata, a name that was given to it by Sebastian Gaboto, who was sent with some ships to attempt the passage of the Straits of Magellan, because, in going up the Paraná, he obtained from the Guaranes Indians some silver ornaments. This navigator sent a pompous description of the country to Charles V., but the king, who did not care for enterprises that yielded no immediate results, considered this discovery of no importance until D. Pedro Mendoza de Castilla offered to carry out the discovery and conquest of Paraguay at his own expense. With the liberality usual in him who gives what he does not know, after his proposition was accepted, he was appointed governor-general of the countries from the river Plate to the Straits of Magellan, without fixing their boundaries towards the west; 2000 ducats a year were assigned him; as much for the use of the colony, nine-tenths of the ransom that the caciques would pay and half the booty; in return, he was to raise 1000 men and 100 horse, open up a new road by land to the South Sea, build at his own expense three forts and various stations, carrying with him missionaries, a physician, a surgeon and a veterinary surgeon. He set out, then, from Cadiz with fourteen ships and 2500 men, and not without many hardships arrived at the river Plate, founding, in 1535, Buenos-Aires on the vast gulf at its mouth. It was, and is, one of the most beautiful and fertile countries in the world, rich in pastures, corn, cotton, sugar, indigo and ipecacuana; but, fortunately for the natives, the Spaniards did not find gold mines there. Continuing their explorations up the river they saw that the rivers Uruguay, Paraguay and Salado were its confluent. Mendoza died, worn out with hardships and displeased with the small results the expedition had obtained. His brother Gonzalo and Juan de Salazar founded the city of Asuncion, which was afterwards to become the capital of Paraguay.

Juan de Ayala, a companion of Pedro Mendoza, seeking about this time the passage between the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, went towards the Paraguay, which he ascended to its sources, and crossing unknown lands arrived at Peru. Twelve years afterwards Irala again attempted this dangerous journey, and succeeded in establishing communication between Peru and the

government of La Plata. Tucuman, Cuyo and the north of the Pampas were all explored and colonies founded in all parts; no part of America was neglected. About this time the Portuguese laid the foundation of their power in Brazil and built numerous towns.

It was at this time that Pizarro thought to finish on his own account the conquest of Chili, which had been commenced by Almagro. Pedro Valdivia penetrated into this country in 1540 at the head of 150 Spaniards and a great number of Peruvians, carrying with him, besides, a certain number of women and priests and domestic animals, the progenitors of those that now constitute the chief wealth of our South America. He went inland with the intention of founding a colony, and entering by the populous valley of Guasco, which he named Nueva Estremadura in memory of his native country, he founded in 1541 Santiago, now the capital of Chili. The Chilians, who at first received the Spaniards as friends, on feeling the heavy yoke that they laid on them, endeavoured to throw it off. Obliged to work together in the unaccustomed labours of the mines, they died by thousands, and those who survived, wishing to avenge themselves, constantly rebelled, putting their oppressors to death. In spite of the bravery of the natives, Valdivia gained victories and founded seven cities, which he deemed necessary to secure the possession of the conquered country and to protect the mines. He continued his route towards the south, and gave his name to a city in the fertile and wooded country situated between the Biobio and the archipelago of Chiloé. That country was inhabited by the Araucanians, the immediate descendants of the Chilians, a people well made and robust, of unconquerable bravery and loving their independence. Although some writers have undoubtedly exaggerated the culture of this nation, what has been said about it is not on that account to be treated as fabulous, as others assert; since it is undoubted that they had a very complete civil organisation, were acquainted with the arts, calculation and government, and their language was harmonious and very regular in construction, for which we may be assured that, among the nations of our continent, this was the best fitted to receive civilisation, if their conquerors had known the means of imparting it to them. The Spaniards, here as everywhere, wished to

bury the natives in the mines, and Valdivia had no hesitation in committing the baseness of poisoning their chief, inviting him to a banquet for this purpose. The Araucanians rose in mass, led by Caupolicán, who, more able and intelligent than any who had hitherto fought against the Spaniards on the American continent, began the terrible guerrilla warfare in which Valdivia himself was taken prisoner, and of his bones and those of some other Spaniards they made fifes to animate their men to the combat. This ruthless war lasted sixty years, the Araucanians several times succeeding in destroying the towns of Concepcion, Talacuano and Valdivia. This country so abounded in gold that, although the Spaniards were only able at intervals to turn their attention to enriching themselves, the working of the mines in the environs of Valdivia brought in to the governor an income of 25,000 crowns a day.

During this time Pizarro had sent to Spain part of the treasures wrested from the vanquished, with the object of securing for himself the favour of Charles V., who confirmed him in possession of the privileges which had been conferred, made him a knight of the Order of Santiago and gave him the title of Marquis of Las Charcas. He occupied himself in establishing a regular government in all the country under his authority, and although an unlettered soldier, he was able to replace by his penetration and good judgment the advantages of education. He divided Peru into districts, established magistrates in each, organised the administration, regulated the collection of taxes, the working of the mines and the mode of treating the Indians. But he abused his victory, not hesitating about means so long as they tended to secure his authority. Surrounded by his mistresses, among whom was a sister of Atahualpa, he gave himself up in his palace at Lima to all kinds of excess. His brothers, his favourites and his partisans had received, on the distribution of lands, large districts in the most populous and best-cultivated provinces; but, on the other hand, conducting himself with all the injustice of party-spirit, the soldiers of Almagro were not only excluded from possession of the lands that they also had conquered, and from every class of office, but were, besides, persecuted as suspected persons. These, whom we may call proscribed, grouped themselves around the

son of Almagro and concerted measures to revenge themselves on him who treated them so cruelly and unjustly. On the 19th of June, 1541, in broad day, nineteen conspirators penetrated into the palace of the conqueror with shouts of "God save the king, death to the tyrant!" and pierced Pizarro, who defended himself with the fierceness of a lion surprised in his den, with many wounds. The assassins proclaimed the son of Almagro governor-general, and pillaged the palace of Pizarro and the houses of his principal adherents.

The government of Almagro lasted but a short time, the commandants of the provinces refusing from the beginning to recognise him. Vaca de Castro, appointed by Charles V. Governor of Peru, arrived at Quito, collected troops and marching against Almagro met him in Chupas, defeated him and condemned him to death with forty of his partisans (1542).

The government of terror and arbitrariness to which the unfortunate Indians were subjected redoubled its odiousness amid this intestine strife; the anxiety of the conquerors to enrich themselves quickly reached such a pitch, and the sufferings of the Indians were such, that many of these unfortunate men, unwilling to give themselves up to be annihilated, marched with their caciques into the depths of the woods, and others, in their exasperation, gladly sacrificed their lives to avenge themselves. Thus died, assassinated in 1541 by the Indians of the province of Quispicanchi, Father Valverde, who in 1538 had succeeded Fernando Luque in the bishopric of Cuzco. The atrocities committed in the name of religion by that monster, called Father Valverde, had terrorised the poor Indians to such a degree that they trembled with fear solely on hearing his name.

The cruelties committed by the conquerors, the account of which, although somewhat exaggerated, was published by Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas, induced Charles V. to dictate some measures tending to liberate the Indians from the oppression under which they groaned, and even to set limits to the authority and usurpations of his own vassals; and he entrusted their execution to Blasco Nuñez de Vela with the title of viceroy. The discontent that such resolutions caused among the conquerors of Peru was extraordinary; they met together in various places

to concert measures for opposing the entrance of the viceroy, impeding, not indeed the execution, but even the publication of the new laws. They urged Gonzalo Pizarro to declare himself the protector of the colonists ; and he, who, if he had not the talent, had as much ambition and courage as his brother Francisco, put himself at the head of the malcontents, marched against the viceroy, ejected him from Lima, pursued him beyond Quito, defeated him under the walls of that city, and after cutting off his head, entered in triumph into the city, 18th January, 1546. He afterwards marched to Lima, and refusing the Crown which his soldiers offered him, contented himself with taking the title of captain-general. Attacked in his turn, in 1548, by Pedro Gasca, who was sent from the mother country with unlimited powers, and deserted by his troops, he was beaten and condemned to death as a rebel, and his head was exposed on the place of execution at Lima. His chief partisans suffered a like fate, the remainder were exiled, and his brother Fernando wasted away for twenty-three years in the prisons of Madrid. Even such terrible reprisals did not put an end to the anarchy, which continued until the reign of Philip II.

In spite of the ill success of the expedition of Gonzalo Pizarro, the hope of finding in the vast region included between the Amazon and the Orinoco, to which the name of Guyana has since been given, the country of gold or El Dorado, had not been lost. Emboldened by the hyperbolical accounts of the Indians and the earlier navigators, the companions of Pizarro had taken as an obligation the finding these regions in which, according to public rumour, so much wealth was hidden. Orellana said that he had discovered them in his expedition of 1541, and in order to take possession of them set out from Spain in 1549 with three ships, of which he lost two, dying of grief on the coast of Caracas, because he had not been able to attain his object. Various other chiefs setting out simultaneously from Venezuela, Nueva Granada, Peru, Brazil and Rio de la Plata, in search of El Dorado and its lake of Parima, the waters of which were "liquid gold," found nothing else than fatigues, misery and deception. Pedro de Ursua, one of the bravest soldiers of the conqueror, who started from Cuzco at the head of some of his bold companions, was assassinated on the road by his lieutenant, Lopez de Aguirre,

desirous, according to some, of being the sole chief of the expedition, and according to others, of getting rid of an inconvenient husband, and thus being able to unite himself with the fair Inés (1560).

Unexpected discoveries were the result of these expeditions. Some Spanish deserters, who wished to go in search of El Dorado on their own account, found a large quantity of gold in the valleys of Caravaya ; they first repulsed the natives, and, abandoning dreams for reality, settled in these valleys in 1550, setting themselves to make the most of the riches that chance had put into their hands. The secret of this fortunate discovery was soon divulged ; and the viceroy, desiring to adjudge to himself a large part of the profits that might result from it, hastened to send colonists, soldiers, engineers and masons, who in a short time built numerous although small towns. Charles V., in return for an ingot of gold weighing 218 pounds, sent by the men of San Gaban and San Juan del Oro, granted them the title of Imperial City and ennobled all their inhabitants. The working of nineteen valleys that form the eastern part of Caravaya lasted more than two centuries, and produced many millions for the Crown of Spain.

By the middle of the sixteenth century, as we have seen, more than half of America was already known ; up to that date the Spaniards have figured in the first rank among the conquerors ; the Portuguese followed them ; but during the second half of the century both began to encounter rivals among the other nations of the old continent. Brazil, divided into captaincies since 1534, and given a general government in 1549, had seen, from the early days of its discovery, French merchants and smugglers come to traffic in dye wood in the Bay of Rio Janeiro. These adventurers lived on good terms with the tribe of the Tamayos who peopled that region. Their commercial or smuggling operations were very soon followed by an attempt at conquest. In 1555 a knight of Malta, Villegagnon, protected by Admiral Coligny and favoured by the French Government, came with a large number of Calvinists to settle and fortify themselves on an island that even now bears his name. This personage did not lack courage and talent, but his perfidy and excessive vanity, since he had himself addressed as King of Brazil, made

him insupportable to those who had followed him, and he was obliged to go back to Europe, cursed by the Protestants, who considered him the Cain of America. The colony, always allied with the Tamayos, nevertheless maintained its ground and received a reinforcement of 300 men, who, led by Bois-le-Comte, came in 1559; and this allowed the French to form a new settlement on the west coast of the bay. Villegagnon had given the name of *Antarctic France* to all the territory that he aspired to conquer and govern as king and lord. The French Calvinists, repeatedly attacked by the Portuguese during a period of ten years, were completely annihilated at the beginning of 1567 after an heroic resistance. The greater part of their possessions were abandoned to the Jesuit Fathers, and the war of extermination against the Tamayos, irreconcilable enemies of the Portuguese, was carried on with fury.

The famous Drake, an English seaman, was for the space of about twenty years the terror of the Spanish colonies. In 1573, when he was only twenty-two years old, he surprised Nombre de Dios on the Isthmus of Panamá. In 1578, passing the Straits of Magellan, he devastated the coasts of Chili and Peru, gathering an immense booty. Seven years later he pillaged San Domingo, Cartagena and Florida. In 1594 he went pillaging again in the sea of the Antilles and in 1596 he burnt Santa Marta and Rio de la Hacha on the coasts of Nueva Granada. Anger and grief at the losses he suffered at Puerto Rico and Panamá caused his death, thus delivering the Spaniards from one of their most formidable enemies.

England, who appealed to the expeditions of the Cabots in order to claim a part of the American territory, had proposed to herself the double object of augmenting her own power and diminishing that of Spain. Such was the idea that Sir Walter Raleigh, the lover and favourite of Queen Elizabeth, cherished during his life. He also, like so many others, had allowed himself to be carried away by the chimera of El Dorado, which marvellous region he set out to conquer at the commencement of 1595. On 22nd March of the same year he disembarked in the Island of Trinidad, seized the fort that the Spaniards had built and took all the garrison prisoners. We think it needless to point out that Raleigh had to abandon his enterprise, as the

Spaniards had done, without having found anything more than they had done, namely, fatigues, misery and deception. He returned then to Trinidad and afterwards to England, but not before he had robbed and pillaged the Spanish settlements on the coast. The next year he fitted out a second expedition, giving the command to Lawrence Keymis, who explored all that part of the littoral included between the river Amazon and the Orinoco without catching a glimpse of El Dorado, which, according to his anticipations, ought to be found towards the Oyapock.

On the 14th of October, 1596, a third expedition fitted out by Raleigh set sail under the command of Thomas Masham, who very soon found that he did not carry sufficient forces to maintain himself against the Spaniards, who were already beginning to fortify all their possessions. In 1617, the tenacious and obstinate Raleigh set sail, leading a squadron of twelve ships. Betrayed to Spain by King James, to whom he had communicated his plans, his passage to Guyana was opposed; his son Walter and Keymis attacked San Tomé, reducing it to ashes. Diego de Palamesa, who bore the title of Governor of Guyana, El Dorado and Trinidad, lost his life in this action, but the young Walter suffered the same fate. Keymis, instead of advancing, retreated to join Raleigh, and unable to support his reproaches, committed suicide. Raleigh, entirely ruined, and unable to find consolation for the unfortunate result of his expeditions, found himself accused by Spain of having violated Spanish territory. Raleigh replied that it was the Spaniards who should be accused of seizing a territory that belonged to England, since, during the reign of Elizabeth, his squadrons had been the first to take possession of Guyana in the name of England; and King James, he added, had sanctioned this taking possession by granting to Charles Leigh and to Harcourt a part of the lands of Guyana, and consequently he had not exceeded the powers that the king had conferred upon him. All that he put forward in his defence and in favour of the rights of priority of his country was useless; Spain demanded his head and James committed the baseness of giving it up. The accusation of treason for which he had been condemned to death fifteen years before was revived against him and he was sent to the block.

Five nations were to contend for a long time for Guyana—

Spain, Portugal, France, England and Holland. After having spilt much blood, after having heaped up many ruins, these powers ended by dividing among themselves the disputed territory; but the wars of independence have completely eliminated the first two.

At the end of the sixteenth century there was very little remaining to be discovered in South America; thus it is that, with few exceptions, the early years of the seventeenth century are much more distinguished for the part that almost all the European nations took in the great colonial movement than for those hazardous expeditions characteristic of the first period of the conquest. We must, nevertheless, mention an attempt made by the Spaniards in 1584 to settle on the Straits of Magellan, near Cape Froward; the name of Puerto de Hambre (Port Hunger), given by them to the settlement or colony of Ciudad Real de San Felipe which they founded, indicates with sufficient eloquence how great must have been the sufferings of the new colonists, who at last perished of hunger. Since that time the Chilians have become the masters of that part, founding besides Punta Arenas. Six years later, or in 1590, the Jesuits, more fortunate, laid in Paraguay the foundations of that colossal power that lasted for more than two centuries, of which we shall have occasion to speak later.

In 1616 the Dutch navigator Lemaire, with the pilot Schouten, after doubling Cape Horn, discovered the strait which bears his name, situated between Staaten Island and Tierra del Fuego, pointing out to mariners a shorter and safer route than the Straits of Magellan to penetrate to the Pacific Ocean. New explorations were carried out at the same time in Brazil, where, in spite of the prohibitions of the court of Portugal to penetrate into the interior of the country, the Paulists made long incursions, reaching the banks of the river Amazon and the frontiers of Peru. The nascent prosperity of this country could not fail to draw the attention of the other European nations. The French formed some ephemeral settlements at the mouth of, and farther up, the river Amazon; and although in 1544 they seized the Island of Maranham and founded the colony of San Luis, it was not long before they were expelled. In 1624 the Dutch, under the command of Admiral Villekens, attempted the

conquest of Brazil, commencing by attacking Bahia, which they took and pillaged. Repulsed by the Spanish troops, since Portugal was then under the power of Spain, they returned to the charge in 1630, took Pernambuco and made themselves masters of several provinces in succession. After some years of a terrible struggle they remained masters of the north part, and when Portugal had recovered her independence it was ceded to them by John IV. in order to procure allies. But the violent and tyrannical conduct of the Dutch roused the colonists, who expelled them in 1654, after an obstinate and sanguinary struggle. Four men, representatives of the various races that compose the Brazilian population, had prepared and executed this great act of liberating their country from foreign rule. Vidal, a white man ; Fernandez Vieira, a mulatto ; Diaz, a negro ; and Cameran, an Indian, are the men that Brazil considers as her liberators, preserving an undying memory of the real chief, the hero of their independence, the mulatto Fernandez Vieira, who, after carrying out so great an enterprise, resigned the power with which he had been invested.

Portugal being at war with France in 1710, saw Brazil again invaded by foreigners. Duclerc arrived in August of the same year in the neighbourhood of Rio Janeiro, disembarked with 900 men in Curitiba, and advanced towards the city after defeating the Portuguese, Indians and mulattoes who endeavoured to impede his passage. On entering Rio Janeiro, which was defended by the inhabitants, he was defeated and killed, and all his men being taken, they died of hunger in the prisons. To avenge this defeat, another expedition sailed from France in the following year under the command of Duguay Trouin, who, forcing the port, entered the city and imposed an enormous ransom or indemnity.

In Chili, the war between the Spaniards and the Araucanians, which had continued for more than a century, partly ceased by the treaty of peace of 1641. The Araucanians retained their territory, undertaking not to permit any foreign nation to disembark in it; but hostilities were frequently renewed, and it was necessary for another century to pass, for another treaty to put an end to this war which had cost Spain so much blood. Araucania is the only nation of our American continent that has

been able to defend and preserve its independence with energetic tenacity.

In 1667 French ships entered the Pacific Ocean for the first time, carrying on a considerable trade until the peace of Utrecht (1713), which put an end to the War of Succession in Spain. During this period the French made several voyages of scientific exploration in order to obtain an exact knowledge of Peru and Chili. The archipelagoes of Chiloé and Chonos, Patagonia and the Galápagos Islands, were the objects of scientific studies in the latter years of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries.

This latter century was marked by the ever-increasing progress of the colonial movement in the interior of the continent, especially in Brazil and Paraguay, and on the banks of the Amazon and its tributaries. In 1799, Humboldt and Bonpland undertook their celebrated journey, which has rendered so many services to science, fixing the geography of the Orinoco, and of Colombia, Peru and Mexico, a journey that did not terminate until 1805, and which we may say opened the way for the investigations of science. From this date the more pacific and glorious triumphs of study have succeeded the sanguinary triumphs of the conquest. Later, the emancipation of the Spanish colonies and of Brazil, opening up the widest field to the activity of all nations, will give rise to a multitude of observations and discoveries which will add to the known marvels those that are yet to be known. But this time the army that spreads over America, not without facing great dangers, has not rapine and extermination for its object ; it does not come to subdue under its feet a whole world, nor to spill the blood of its fellows ; its chiefs are not the scum of the civilised nations, the bold and greedy adventurers, the filibusters from all countries ; they are the apostles of the science that humanises, geographers, botanists, astronomers, physicians—in a word, they are the men of science and investigation, whose glory will cause no tears to be shed.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE COLONISATION OF SOUTH AMERICA.

THE conquest of the greater part of South America, as we have had occasion to see, was not owing to Ferdinand the Catholic nor to Charles V., but to the admirable activity and intrepidity of their subjects, often in opposition to the royal authority. We have also seen that the conquerors had subdued the Indians by violence, seizing their property and persons, and that it was not without terrible struggles that the unity of Spanish Colonisation was established. The kings of Spain, appealing to the bull of Alexander VI., always considered themselves as universal proprietors of all the lands discovered or to be discovered, and, in virtue of the donation which that pontiff had made them, they not only intervened in the government of the colonies, to the foundation of which they had not contributed, but thought they had the right to grant lands to their subjects, to appoint the chiefs of the expeditions, then the magistrates, and to determine the privileges that were to be granted to the colonists.

Let us pass on then, now, to examine the consequences of the settlement of the Spaniards in South America, without neglecting to note afterwards, although slightly, those of the settlements of the Portuguese, Dutch, French and English, since all these nations founded colonies in it.

The first consequence of the settlement of the Spaniards for America was the extraordinary and deplorable diminution in the numbers of its aboriginal inhabitants, and on reaching this point, we must before all things, impartial as we are, rebut the unjust accusation that has been made against Spain, of desiring to exterminate the indigenous population as a means of keeping possession of the conquered country; an accusation so much the more unjust, as those who make it (the French and English,

especially the latter) are those who really have exterminated the primitive races in their colonies. And this is unanswerably demonstrated by the fact of meeting few, very few, individuals of those races in the cultivated parts of the United States, at the same time that it is calculated that after so many disasters two-thirds of the population of those countries that were Spanish colonies of the continent<sup>1</sup> belong to the copper-coloured race, improved by mixing or crossing constantly with that of their conquerors. The true causes of the depopulation, according to Benevento and Ulloa, authorities little to be suspected, were : the small-pox, carried to Mexico by a negro slave of Narvaez, from which point it penetrated later into Peru ; hunger, which killed very many natives during their wars with the Spaniards ; famine, which, as a result of the interruption of agricultural labour, followed the wars ; the hard labour imposed by the Spaniards on those who had fallen to them in the *repartimientos* ; the heavy taxes from which no Indian was exempt ; the many natives employed in collecting gold in the mountain streams, without sufficient nourishment, and exposed to the cold of the elevated regions ; slavery, to which many were reduced under various pretexts ; the labour to which they were condemned, especially in the mines, the neighbourhood of which was strewn with corpses and darkened by flights of crows that came to devour them ; the civil wars of the Spaniards and the expeditions that they undertook for the conquest of new countries, during which the Indians were employed as beasts of burden ; and lastly the abuse of strong liquors, which killed more people in a year than the mines did in half a century.

No less disastrous for the Americans was the system of colonisation and administration that the Spaniards traced out in their new dominions, from which nothing could arise but poverty, corruption and religious fanaticism. The kings of Spain, reviving the old false ideas of political economy, had no hesitation in authorising the negro slave trade ; they forced certain classes to work solely for the benefit of others ; saddled the colonies with absurd restrictions on production, and obliged them to take

<sup>1</sup> The same cannot be said with respect to the islands, whose inhabitants have remained reduced to a very small number, and in some, as in San Domingo, have completely disappeared.

articles that they could do without, so that the planters lived at the expense of the labourers, and the mother country carried away the gains of the former under the name of tenths, tariffs and other taxes. The Spanish Government fixed its attention only on Peru, which offered the precious metals; but not even in this province did it think of obtaining anything else than the largest quantity of gold and silver, heedless by what means, and introducing the most absurd despotic government. It suited the mother country that the lands of her colonies, which might rather be called the king's possessions, should have a single master, in order that he might pay the imposts, and it distributed them lavishly among the conquering soldiers, giving to each infantry man a portion 100 feet long by 50 feet wide for a house and 1895 for garden, and besides 7543 for orchard, 94,295 for the cultivation of the Indian cereals, and sufficient to keep ten pigs, twenty goats, one hundred sheep, twenty oxen and five horses, The cavalry men received double for the house and five times as much for the rest.

As the precious metals were all that was desired, agriculture was neglected. The mines belonged at first to the discoverer, afterwards to the Government, that wished to work them on its own account, but seeing that it lost, it left them again to private persons, exacting a fifth of the profits, which it was obliged to reduce to a tenth, as also the price of quicksilver for amalgam, of which it held the monopoly. The imposts, that weighed on the Indians and on the proprietors, went on increasing in proportion as the needs of the mother country increased. To be convinced of this it is sufficient to know that in the seventeenth century Spain demanded the following taxes: the Bull for the crusade, for which every inhabitant of the continent paid every two years three silver reals of three pesos odd; the duty on gold and silver; the duty on *pulque*, a drink used by the Indians; the duties on playing cards, stamped paper, hides, copper, alum, the monopoly of quicksilver, tobacco, snow, salt and gunpowder; the tax on fighting cocks; the *alcabala* or duty on the sale of effects, which, at first fixed at 5 per cent., was afterwards increased to 14 per cent.; the *almojarifazgo* or duty on the importation and exportation of merchandise, which, on an average, rose to 15 per cent.; the *avería* or duty for the convoy of ships which came to

America, which amounted to 2 per cent. on the value of the merchandise ; the right of coining money at the rate of one silver real a mark ( $\frac{1}{2}$  lb.) ; one half of the ecclesiastical annates, the king's ninth on bishoprics, and the tribute of the Indians who paid thirty-two silver reals a year in taxes and four for the king's service, which was afterwards lowered. To complete the picture we should add that, besides the imposts mentioned, exacted by the Crown, the inhabitants of America had to satisfy those of the Church, the tithe, parish rates and various others, all so heavy that they brought in annually fabulous sums and made the American clergy the richest in the world.

The kings of Spain, and afterwards the other nations who possessed colonies in our continent, wished to secure to themselves the monopoly of their products and that of the goods that they needed, and to attain this end they absolutely prohibited commerce with foreign nations and the cultivation of the vine and the olive, and also the establishment of various classes of manufactures. All trade was prohibited also between one colony and another, everything having to go to Spain and come from Spain ; and also it was forbidden to admit any foreigner without express permission of the Government. In consequence of this absurd as well as iniquitous system, which punished with confiscation of goods and death those who dared to contravene the regulations of the mother country, it is easy to surmise how many vexations and injuries the natives of America suffered and the damage that was caused to the agriculture, commerce, industry and settlement of our continent. If, during a great part of the sixteenth century, Spain, the possessor of a vast commerce and a flourishing industry, was able to satisfy the wants of her colonies with her own products, she very soon left the other countries of Europe to furnish the food and clothing that they needed and solely paid attention to the search for gold in the new regions that she had conquered. The Spanish Government refused foreign goods and strictly prohibited their importation, but only succeeded by this in manifesting its own impotence, and causing the prohibition to be evaded, as it was, by covering the goods with the names of Spanish merchants.

This merely apparent monopoly solely favoured the manufactures of the Low Countries, of England, and of Italy, and a

few Spanish merchants. In short, it is seen that scarcely the twentieth part of the merchandise imported into America proceeded from the soil or the manufactories of Spain, and that the remainder belonged to foreign merchants, although, we repeat, they were introduced as supposed products of the mother country. From this moment the wealth of the colonies, before reaching Spain, was consumed in paying for the merchandise bought of the foreigners, and the ruin of the nation reached such a point through this absurd commerce, that Philip III., absolute master of the richest countries of the globe, and proprietor of the mines of Potosí and Mexico, was obliged to issue an edict giving to copper money the value of silver, and coin was so scarce that the University of Toledo explained to the king that for a capital sum a third part had to be paid as interest.

This ruinous monopoly was maintained by Spain by absurd regulations. In order to secure to the court the control of the commerce, which chiefly consisted in gold, silver, and valuable merchandise, it was ordered that every ship loading for America should be inspected before its departure by the officers of the *Casa de Contratacion* established at Seville, and that it should be visited in the same way on its arrival, and that no ship should be allowed to depart from any of the other home ports. To prevent fraud, two squadrons only carried on the trade of Spain with America, setting sail once a year, adequately escorted. One was known by the name of the *Galeons* and the other by that of the *Fleet*. The former, which traded with Terra Firma, Peru and Chili, touched first at Cartagena, where the merchants of Santa Marta, Caracas and Nueva Granada met, passing afterwards to Porto Bello, where those met who brought the products of Peru and Chili, which they bartered for the manufactures of Europe. This market, open for the period of forty days, as was prescribed, was beyond dispute the most important in the universe for the value of its trade, and such good faith prevailed that the merchandise was not even unpacked, the word of the merchant being sufficient. The *Fleet* touched at Vera Cruz, received the treasures of Nueva España deposited at Los Angeles, and afterwards the two squadrons, which had completed their cargoes in America, met at Havana, whence they returned to Europe.

With such trammels and restrictions the commerce of the mother country with her colonies must necessarily be concentrated in few hands, giving occasion for scandalous speculations. Limited to a single port, Seville first and afterwards Cadiz, it was not and could not be within reach of all merchants, and the few who held the monopoly of it, could avoid competition, raising or lowering by common accord the price of the goods so much that those that were resold in our country, or if you will in the whole of America, left a profit of 100, 200 and even 300 per cent., according to the Spanish historian Ulloa. Campomanes, also a Spaniard, asserts that, between the two squadrons, they never loaded more than 27,500 tons, a cargo that was far from being able to satisfy the needs of the colonies, which were supplied scantily and with the worst goods. This lack was made up by smuggling, which Spain did not know how to prevent by freedom of trade, but wished to punish by death and confiscation, and giving over the culprits to the Inquisition as guilty of impiety.

The progress and development of the colonies and their population was also greatly impeded by the extraordinary number of ecclesiastics, secular and regular, who hurriedly came from Spain, with the pretext of undertaking the instruction and conversion of the aborigines, but in reality to free themselves from the austerity and strict rules to which they had been subjected in their own country, giving themselves up, as they did, save some honourable exceptions, to the most unbridled corruption or the most sordid avarice. And mark, this is not our assertion, but that of authors as respectable and as little to be suspected as Avendaño, Benzoni, Correal, Acosta and many others. To guard against the extension of the authority of the Popes in America, the Spanish monarchs solicited from Alexander VI. the concession of the tithes, which they obtained on the condition of paying the expenses of the missions, and from Julius II. the patronage of and appointment to all ecclesiastical benefices, by which both pontiffs showed that they did not understand the importance of the donations made by them, and which their successors have lamented and desired to revoke without success. The kings of Spain, then, were the real heads of the American Church, electing to offices, disposing of the incomes and adminis-

tering vacant benefices, and no Bull of the Pope had any authority in our country before being examined and approved by the Council of the Indies. In order to understand to what a degree the clergy, both secular and regular, had increased, it will be sufficient to say that, according to Gonzalo Dávila, there were already in Spanish America in 1649 a patriarch, six archbishops, thirty-two bishops, 346 prebends, two abbacies, five king's chaplains and 840 convents, and that at the beginning of the present century they had almost doubled their numbers. The disastrous consequences that the convents, the refuge of idleness and superstition, occasioned, obliged various Catholic states to expressly prohibit monastic vows in their colonies; and the kings of Spain themselves, alarmed at this fanatical propensity so contrary to the progress and prosperity of their possessions,<sup>1</sup> endeavoured more than once to set limits to it, but could not succeed. No Indian, no Spanish-American, except in Mexico, was ordained a priest nor received into the religious orders, because his faith, as his conquerors asserted, even after the most careful instruction, was always weak and tottering. The Indian was only good for working in the mines and to serve as a beast of burden; what more could he want?

Passing on now to give an account of the administrative division of the colonies or Spanish possessions in South America, let us state that, at first, the kings of Spain established in it only one government or viceroyalty, namely, that of Peru; to this followed those of Nueva Granada and Buenos-Aires and the captaincies-general of Caracas and Chili. These viceroys not only represented the person of the monarch, but also enjoyed all the prerogatives of the Crown to their full extent, each, within the limits of his Government, being head of the administration and the army, true despots, with a court similar to that of Madrid, guards of infantry and cavalry, a numerous household, their own banners, and jurisdiction in countries of whose true

<sup>1</sup> In 1745 fifty-five convents were counted in the City of Mexico; and in 1620 the number of convents in Lima was so great that they covered more ground than the rest of the city. The number of colleges that the Jesuits possessed in America, when they were expelled from Spain, amounted to 112, and the number of members of their order who were in all these houses amounted to 2245. The number of ecclesiastics, although it has not been able to be fixed exactly, amounted to very many thousands.

position and interests they were completely ignorant. Their absolute power was only limited by the *Audiencias*, courts of justice formed on the model of the chanceries of Spain. They were eleven in number, and were final courts of appeal for civil, criminal and ecclesiastical causes for sums not exceeding 10,000 duros. They might give advice to the viceroy, although, in case of direct opposition between their opinion and the will of the viceroy, it was the latter that was carried out; the only resource remaining to the *Audiencia* was to lay the case before the king and the Council of the Indies. The members of these courts, having many privileges and being well paid, had no other interest than that of the mother country. The Spanish viceroys repeatedly attempted to override the decisions of the courts, desiring to administer justice personally, which would have made them masters of the lives and property of the citizens; but the kings of Spain made many laws forbidding them to interfere in causes that the *Audiencias* were to hear. These just resolutions, tending to prevent the abuses of a magistrate who represented the sovereign, were of little or no use, since it did not suit the *Audiencias* to be on bad terms with him.

The Council of the Indies, which was the most remarkable tribunal of the Spanish monarchy, by its dignity and powers, was established by Ferdinand in 1511, and regulated by Charles V. in 1524, to take cognisance of all ecclesiastical, civil, military and commercial affairs. From this Council emanated all the laws relating to the government and police of the colonies, which, being approved by two-thirds of the members, were published in the king's name; it conferred all offices in the gift of the Crown, and all the Americans had to go to it from the lowest to the viceroy. Lastly, it was commissioned to examine all public and private papers and public reports that were sent to it from America, as well as all plans of administration, police and commerce proposed for the colonies. The orders of the king and of this Council are what constitute the *Collection of the laws of the Indies*, which, as a distinguished modern historian observes, is nothing else than a casual pile of orders made for different objects and for different cases, and, therefore, strange and incoherent, while there is no abuse that does not find support in them. This was the code for the colonies, extended by number-

less privileges of corporations or individuals, with special tribunals, which at last formed an inextricable labyrinth which made it impossible for the Indian to obtain justice against a Spaniard.

The administration and government of the provinces was entrusted to magistrates of various ranks and different names, some of whom were nominated by the king and others by the viceroy, although they all received their instructions from the latter and were under his jurisdiction. As a general rule, at the head of each province was a *corregidor* whose authority was at the same time civil and military. The cities elected *ayuntamientos* (town councils) to attend to their interests; and if it is certain that the absolute kings of the Austrian and Bourbon dynasties endeavoured to suppress, or, at least, denaturalise them, limiting their powers to the internal administration of the locality, and giving them no influence whatever in the government, it is not less so that they maintained themselves in spite of them, and that at the beginning of this century they formed the nucleus of the resistance that produced the emancipation.

The court of Spain, in order to assure its authority over its vast American possessions, and proceeding with the distrust fitting its Machiavelian policy, had so arranged that all their magistrates should be checks on each other, and had fomented the envy and hatred that the races that peopled them felt against one another. The population of America was composed of the European Spaniards called *chapetones* and *gachupines*; the *creoles*, the children of Europeans settled in America; the *mestizos*, children of whites and native Americans; the *mulattoes*, children of Europeans and negroes; the *zambos*, children of negroes and Indians; the *negroes* of African race and the *Indians* or indigenous race of a bronze colour. The *chapetones*, that is, the pure Spaniards, haughtily looked down on the *creoles*, and were what we may call the spoilt children of the mother country, which, after demanding a proof that they were descended from *Old Christians*, that is, uncontaminated by Jewish, or Moorish blood, conferred on them all public offices, from the viceroyalty to the lowest employment, notwithstanding that, in general, they were ignorant of the customs and needs of the country to which they had come for a short time and solely with

the object of enriching themselves as quickly as possible. The creoles returned the contempt that the gachupines felt for them, with a violent and implacable hatred, which Spain nourished and kept up, excluding them from all public offices and honours, notwithstanding that, to their great wealth, many of them added the distinction of being descendants of the conquerors, and others of the noblest families of the mother country. The negroes, who were household servants, liked and petted by their mistresses, to whose pleasures and vanity they contributed, took pleasure in maltreating and vilifying the Indians, which was another motive for irreconcilable rancour which the laws fomented, strictly prohibiting all communication between the last two races in order to prevent a dangerous understanding.

The lowest and most unfortunate class of the inhabitants of America, as may be gathered from what has been said, was that of the Indians, who were always, although the laws prescribed otherwise, veritable slaves of the conquerors, to whom their labour belonged by right. It is true that the Indians were recognised as men, as if it were an act of clemency ; it is true that, after this recognition, they were considered as citizens equal, before the law, to the other subjects of the Crown ; but it is also true that they were always held in a state of legal minority, and could contract no obligation exceeding the value of five pesos unless it were signed by a white man ; and it is also true that the aborigines were never considered as equals by the whites, not even in those parts where by their numbers and power they had the same political rights as the colonists or Spaniards. It was considered a great favour, as Cantú says, that some broken-down European should marry a rich Indian lady, and the mestizos who were born of this union were looked down on ; and it is equally true that although the letter of the law made no difference between the white man and the Indian, declaring both fit and capable for public offices and situations under the Government, in reality these were always given solely and exclusively to the Spaniards. And lastly, if we take into account that the court of Spain was obliged to place in every district an official with the title of protector of the Indians, to deliver them from the oppression, usurpations and violence to which they were subjected, it is very clearly demonstrated that these unfortunate people were

nothing else than the slaves of their conquerors, as we have said.

To these abuses were added many others, among which the *mitad* and the *repartimiento* are prominent, which show more and more the oppression that was exercised over the Indians; sometimes they were protected, sometimes free. And before speaking of the *mitad* and the *repartimiento*, it will be well to say that the *encomiendas* were concessions granted to the colonists among whom the conquered country had been divided in lots, to hold in servitude for a fixed number of years the Indians whom they needed to cultivate the land and work the mines. The *encomenderos* or grantees were feudal lords of the conquered countries, who turned the Indians whom they legally held in servitude into *things*, assimilating them to beasts of burden, exacting from them the hardest labours without giving them the least compensation. Not satisfied with this, the conquerors humiliated their victims by forbidding them to wear certain ornaments that were a sign of ancient nobility or distinctive of certain dignities, and, in a word, vexing and trampling them down in order that everything that could make them remember that they had been a free people should disappear. Such an abuse of strength must necessarily bring with it as a consequence the depopulation of the country and the extermination of the aborigines, for if they did not lose their lives in battle they did so afterwards in the labour in the mines. To replace the hands that disappeared through the wars, ill treatment and deadly labour, and to save at the same time the last representatives of the aboriginal race, Las Casas thought that the African negroes, whose physical constitution could better resist the burning climate of the equator, should be employed for some time in the cultivation of the land and the working of the mines. This provisional remedy, which still exists, was of little or no use; the Indians had to work constantly as before, some bent down to the ground, exposed to the rays of a sun that killed them, others diving into the sea to drag from it its pearls, and others buried in the mines without hope of ever again seeing the light of day.

In explaining what the *encomiendas* were we have entered into facts and considerations, interesting indeed, but which have led us away, although for a short time, from the intention that

we stated of showing that the *mitad* and the *repartimiento*, laws promulgated in favour of the Indians, were from the beginning converted into abuses which augmented the many that were committed against this unfortunate people.

The *mitad* was a bodily service that every man from the age of eighteen to fifty years was to render, the indigenous population of South America being divided for this purpose into seven parts, each one of which had to work for six months in the mines. Every mine-owner had the right to demand from the district the number of Indians he required. To form an idea of what they suffered from this class of work, it is sufficient to know that in Peru alone 1400 mines were worked, and that the proprietor who should cease the works for a year and a day lost his rights to his mine. The unfortunate man on whom the lot fell, knowing that the calling out his name was equivalent to a sentence of death, before setting out disposed of his things in favour of his relatives, who, in their turn, went through the funeral service before him, as before a corpse. Why should they not, when scarcely a fifth part of these unhappy wretches survived such dreadful labour? Before starting, a mass was said for them, which they were obliged to hear, but especially to pay for, after which they took an oath of fidelity and obedience to the King of Spain before the priest; they were sprinkled with holy water and dismissed with the usual formula, *Vete con Dios*, and were conducted to the mines. Appointed to the labour of excavation, they were lowered into the shafts and galleries, where the sudden passage from the pure air to a pestilential atmosphere gave them a species of asthma of which they usually died within a year, unless excessive fatigue, bad food and despair did not hasten their death. It has been calculated that, in Peru alone, the *mitad* had 8,000,000 victims. Notwithstanding that Indians residing more than thirty miles from a mine could not be included in the division destined to work it, they were carried off, not thirty but hundreds of miles from their place of residence; and although, as a general rule, they were paid three or four silver reals for their labour, they had to give the third part of it to their master for food, who, not content with that, always contrived a means of getting the other two-thirds as well, sometimes by giving credit for clothes and liquor, sometimes under other pretexts. If

by chance the Indian had not lost his life at the end of the term for which he had been obliged to work, he had accumulated a debt that he could not pay, and remained in perpetual slavery.

The *repartimiento* was another means of oppression and tyranny. By it the *corregidores* and subintendants of districts were obliged to supply the Indians with all the things they consumed, a very convenient regulation at the commencement when merchants did not travel into the interior of the country. But these officers were not long before they abused this privilege, speculating in it cynically and shamelessly, and regarding as a duty what had been instituted to confer a benefit, they obliged the natives to buy the worst garments at very high prices, sold them unsound mules, spoilt grain, sour wine and all the articles of prime necessity at three and four times the value they had when they were sound. They made them buy things that were utterly useless or of no value, exhibiting the scandal of obliging men who went barefoot and had scarcely any beard to buy razors, silk stockings and velvet dresses; and, what is still worse, to use spectacles when they went to mass, simply because the *corregidor* had bought a box of them of a poor trader, which he wished to dispose of at a price that suited him.

Although, after so many impositions as were laid on the wretched Indians by the king and his delegates and representatives, it seems that they could not be the object of more exactions, the clergy, who had come from Spain to save the souls of these unfortunate people, carried off the little they had been able to rescue from the insatiable voracity of their masters. In order to form an idea of the rights of the clergy we will limit ourselves to noting that, besides the tithe, they exacted forty reals for a baptism, twenty for a certificate of marriage, and thirty-two for a burial; they saw such fat revenues augmented by donations to the churches and convents, which, in a people like the aborigines, in whom they had been careful to plant superstition, were as liberal as they were frequent.

And on arriving at this point, we must take the opportunity that is presented to us of seeing in what the pretended benefits and much-vaunted protection that, according to some writers, the Indians owed to the clergy of that time, and especially to the Jesuits, consisted. We, who pride ourselves on being impartial,

shall not withhold our admiration from the twelve missionaries who, despising every danger, on the wings of faith and desirous of bringing all the inhabitants of the New World to it, crossed the Atlantic in 1493, led by the Catalan Benedictine Buell; nor lessen the applause and gratitude gained by Las Casas, the true protector of the Indians, who devoted his life to their defence, nor hesitate to confess that in the earlier missions, if there were intolerant and sanguinary fanatics like Valverde, there were not wanting virtuous priests who, without fanaticism or intolerance, exercised their ministry with true evangelical zeal, among whom are counted, for the honour of the Church, Sahagun, Palafox, Mendoza and Mendiola who refused to sign as judge the sentence on an Indian condemned to death, and so many others, who went so far as to refuse absolution to those who possessed *encomiendas*, and to all who regarded the Indians as slaves or employed them in working the mines. But if we recognise and admit this, no one can be allowed to call in question our good faith and real impartiality when we say that the missionaries, and the American clergy in general, were very quickly contaminated, and that the zeal and evangelical virtues which shone in many of the first were succeeded by the anxiety to shake off the yoke of the cloister, and the immoderate desire for distinctions and wealth. They went so far as to despise their vow of poverty and publicly devote themselves to commerce, showing themselves so greedy that they came to be the most dangerous oppressors of the Indians whom they should have protected, and scandalously violating their vow of chastity, in order to abandon themselves publicly and shamelessly to the most unbridled corruption.

Among the clergy who most distinguished themselves by making a market out of the poor Indian under the pretext of educating him and converting him to the faith of Christ and delivering him from the cruelty and avarice of the conquerors, those of the Company of Jesus deserve especial mention. From the very first they conceived the idea of forming a great settlement in our country, which they calculated would be a new fountain of wealth and influence for them. To realise their projects they took advantage of the conflicts that arose between the governors and the bishops who attempted to dominate the civil power completely, and more especially of the system of

the *encomiendas*. Under pretence of going to collect Indians for this kind of settlements, the Fathers Cataldino and Maceta founded the first parish, or *reduccion* as they called it, of 200 families of the Guaranos, in Loreto, on the banks of the Parapaneme, an affluent of the Paraná, laying the foundations of that theocratic and communistic state that afterwards acquired so much celebrity under the name of *misiones* or *reducciones* of Paraguay. They then begged that the Indians whom they might bring together should be declared free; but although their influence, immense at that time, was sufficient to get their proposition listened to by the king, they required all the astuteness and constancy that characterise them to repress the complaints of the colonists, who from the beginning saw in them a powerful rival, who desired to wrest from them the profits that the slavery of the Indians produced for them. Protected by the royal authority they increased the *reducciones* in such a manner that, from 1593 to 1746, they founded thirty-three parishes in Paraguay among the Guaranos, Chiquitos and Moxas from 12° south latitude to the foot of the Andes of Peru. They soon succeeded in loosening every tie of dependence on the Government, even to the point that the governor, himself appointed by the monarch, depended on the superior of the mission whose will was the only law. They converted, or at least baptised, the Guaranos by thousands, without caring much whether they were convinced of the excellence of the dogmas to which they subjected them, or of the absurdity of those they renounced. They gave them a military organisation, destined almost all to agriculture, and a few to the most necessary manual arts, and hermetically closed the country, not only to foreigners but also to Spaniards of all sorts and conditions. The thirty-three parishes or *reducciones*, which, as we have said, they founded, at last included more than 40,000 families. These prudent apostolic missionaries and, at the same time, administrators of temporal goods, worked the aborigines so cleverly that, "in their happy ignorance," if we are to believe Schaell, "they knew no other chiefs, no other masters, we might almost say no other Providence, than the fathers".

They were masters of all the trade, which permitted them to establish a monopoly from which they realised enormous profits.

Crétineau-Joly, their avowed apologist, says : "The Jesuits were the guardians of the Christians collected in society in Paraguay. Given the incapacity of these savages, whom religion was careful to civilise, various kings of Spain, and Philip V. by his decree of 28th December, 1743, which renewed and confirmed previous edicts, granted the missionaries the right of alienating the fruits of the lands cultivated by the converts equally with the products of their industry." This decree of 1743 only permits us to understand imperfectly the proceedings adopted by the Jesuits of Paraguay. No one, in fact, not even the kings of Spain themselves, has seen clearly into their working : "It results from information taken and from other documents that, taking into account the incapacity and indolence of these Indians to manage their property, a portion of land is allotted to each to cultivate and with the produce maintain his family ; that the rest of the lands belong to the commune ; that all that is gathered, grain, roots, food-stuffs and cotton, is administered by the Indians under the direction of the clergy, as well as the pastures and the flocks and herds, of all of which three lots are made ; the first to pay the tribute to my royal treasury, out of which the salaries of the parochial clergy are paid ; the second for worship and the preservation of the churches ; the third to feed and clothe the widows, orphans, the sick and those that are employed in the fields, and for other needs that may arise, there being scarcely any of those to whom land has been given to cultivate as proprietors, who has gathered sufficient fruits to maintain himself during a whole year".

The writers friendly to the Jesuits are very persevering in demonstrating the indolence of the population of Paraguay, it appearing to them, no doubt, that thus they more than justify the commercial working of that human flock, whose labour resulted in the exclusive profit of their pastors, for whom, besides, they were to shed their blood in interminable wars. And on this subject we will say that the *reducciones* were very far from enjoying that peace and tranquillity that was so much vaunted in Europe by their admirers, since the converts had a military organisation, with their infantry and cavalry militia, who had frequently to take up arms in order to repulse or resist the numerous enemies of their masters and lords. From what has

been seen, forgetting the sixth commandment of the decalogue, it was much less important to the fathers to gain souls than to gain money, and, under the cloak of religion, they traded and dexterously profited by the labour of thousands of creatures systematically plunged in ignorance, misery and fanaticism. As a result of such an economical system of production, these pious workers were in a position to sell their harvests at a low price, thus destroying the trade of the neighbouring populations, who, unable to support the competition, abandoned the cultivation of the land as well as their commercial enterprises, suffered and became exasperated. The lamentations and incessant remonstrances of the traders of Asuncion were unheeded. All agree that the profits that their settlements brought in to the Jesuits were of very great value, although it has never been possible to determine exactly the amount to which they rose. They were sufficiently clever to hide carefully from Europe whatever occurred in their *reducciones*, which is not surprising, knowing as we do that each congregation was surrounded by ditches duly guarded by the armed forces, in order to prevent the exit of the converts and the entrance of strangers, neither governors nor bishops being excepted from this regulation. The entrance of the Governors of La Plata and of Paraguay was prohibited; and to the Bishop of Ascension, Bernardino de Cárdenas, sent by the king to examine their works, with the object of learning whether the decrees of the Council of Trent and the supremacy of the king were duly observed, the Jesuits first presented obstacles, and then open resistance, thus giving rise to a struggle in which much blood was shed on both sides.

Within the boundaries of each mission, in an appointed place, commercial exchanges were carried on without the slightest intervention on the part of the converts, to whom all contact or relations with strangers were forbidden, in order that, as the fathers said, they should never be contaminated by bad example. The royal decrees did not reach these astute potentates, who, being absolute masters in their dominions, laughed at regulations, ordinances and decrees, throwing in case of necessity their brutalised troops against the king's representatives and if necessary against those of the Church. "Thus," says a respectable writer, "the Jesuits, who, in the memorials that they presented to the

court of Spain, as well as in the books that they printed, spoke with enthusiasm of the salvation of the souls of the poor Indians and of the happiness of subduing this savage race for the cause of civilisation, were, in reality, moved only by purely terrestrial interests ; and as to the education that they pretended to give to their converts, it was limited to putting them in a position to work for the profit of the Order, as is plainly shown by the fact that, after a century and a half of culture, the tribe of the Guaranos was found, with very slight difference, in the same state of barbarism in which they were before the supposed education that they ought to have received from the Jesuits."

On the 2nd January, 1767, the Jesuits who had settled in Paraguay were expelled from the Spanish possessions as they had been from the Portuguese some years before, and all their goods were confiscated. The territory occupied by their *reducciones* had been ceded by Spain to Portugal in 1750, although the latter only took possession eleven years after. The only thing that can and must be said in favour of the Jesuits is that, to recruit the *personnel* of their missions and to attract the wandering tribes to them, they almost always avoided the employment of force, since they generally gained their converts by persuasion and astuteness.

To return to the affairs of the Spanish colonies, we will say that oppression, violence and arbitrariness were the only laws that ruled in them, and it was not the Indians alone who found the yoke very heavy ; the half-breeds also were deserving of pity, and even among the Spaniards of pure race only the Government officers and the clergy were looked up to and respected. The policy of the kings of Spain was to ruin the colonists by imposts, to overwhelm them with humiliations, and keep them plunged in ignorance. "In order that they may continue submissive," said an archbishop, "they need only know the catechism." In the province of Velez (Nueva Granada) those who embezzled the funds reduced the Timebos Indians to such extreme misery that whole families threw themselves into the river Nieve from the top of a rock 400 metres high. The tribes of the Agatoes and the Cocomes committed suicide in a mass, during a single night, in order to escape the cruelties of their masters. Many Indians, exasperated, strangled themselves, in order not to fall

into the hands of the Spaniards and find themselves reduced to slavery. An intendant went with a rope in his hand to a place where many of these unfortunate wretches had met together in order to put an end to their lives, and threatened to hang himself with them if they did not give up their design; this threat was sufficient to disperse them with terror, preferring life, painful as it might be, to the horror of meeting one of their tyrants beyond the tomb. The inhabitants of Aconcalm, in the province of Canas, exasperated by the amount of the tribute in gold dust that they were obliged to pay, one day seized the Spanish collector who was brutally exacting it and gave him melted gold to drink, *to satisfy in this way the insatiable thirst of the collector*, as Flores says, who relates this fact in a small work entitled *Patriotism and Love of Liberty*.

During one of the nights of December, 1767, the descendants of the first occupants of the valleys of Caravaya, the Carangas and the Suchimanis, came to demand an account of the Spaniards of San Gaban of a usurpation that had lasted more than two centuries. They burnt the city and killed all the inhabitants with arrows and clubs. It is said that when this event became known, the viceroy D. Antonio Amat swore on a piece of the true cross to exterminate all the savages in Peru without exception. The actress Mariquita Gallegas, who, from her relations with the viceroy and her edifying end in a convent, has acquired some celebrity, took up their defence, making her lover understand that the duty of a Christian and a viceroy, under these circumstances, was to pray to God for the victims and send missionaries to their executioners, who, after instructing them in the doctrines of religion, might baptise them. Amat gave up his first resolution and, it appears, adopted the advice of Mariquita.

In 1780 the patience of the victims was exhausted. The cynicism and rapacity of the *corregidores* were carried to such an extent as to oblige the aborigines, in virtue of the *repartimiento*, to buy articles that were completely useless at exorbitant prices. One day, Condorcanqui, cacique of Tungasuc, seized the *corregidor* of Tinta, who had imposed three *repartimientos* in a single year, and strangled him with his own hands. This cacique, a descendant of the Inca Tupac-Amaru, beheaded by the Spaniards

in 1562, had received a superior education from the Jesuits in Cuzco ; he took the name of his ancestor, adopted the customs of the Incas, and proclaimed himself chief of his compatriots who had rebelled against their masters. His private virtues had gained him the respect and esteem of all the Peruvians ; but, lacking the resolution required by the circumstances, he not only committed the error of not fraternising with the creoles, who hated the Spaniards, but also treated them as enemies. The Indians responded enthusiastically to his call, which awakened their ancient memories, and, although unprovided with arms, opposed the courage of despair to the discipline of the Spaniards, and succeeded in obtaining some advantages, the whole of Upper Peru seconding their insurrectionary movement. They sustained the struggle for more than a year, until, through the treachery of a cacique to whom the Spaniards had promised a colonel's epaulettes, a promise that they did not fulfil, Amaru was taken prisoner and conducted to Cuzco, where he was tried and condemned to death, with circumstances which cause horror and indignation, and revolt the consciences of honourable men of all nations. His wife and children, as well as his brother-in-law Bastidas, were put to death before his eyes, his tongue was cut out, and he was torn to pieces by four horses ; his body was reduced to ashes and his legs and arms were sent to the towns that had revolted. His house was razed, his property confiscated, his family was declared infamous for ever, and one of his brothers was sent to Spain and condemned to the galleys, where he remained thirty years. The Indians were deprived of their privileges, if any remained, their festivals and meetings were abolished, and it was forbidden that any one should take the title of Inca.

It was thought that the Indians would be intimidated by these severe measures, but they only succeeded in exasperating their hatred and increasing the numbers of the rebels, who, ferocious like every people sunk in degradation who rise against their oppressors, took terrible vengeance. Under the command of Andrés, a cousin of Amaru, who had escaped the executioner, and another chief named Catari, they fought with the fury of despair. Each of the victims of Cuzco cost, it is said, the lives of 500 Spaniards. Andrés besieged the city of Sorata in

which the surrounding families with all their treasures had taken refuge. The fortifications, defended by artillery, opposed an almost invincible obstacle to the besiegers, unprovided with firearms, but Andrés turned the mountain streams against them and thus opened a wide breach for the Indians. Of the 20,000 inhabitants of Sorata one priest alone escaped. The Spaniards, recurring to treachery and cunning, seized the chiefs and subdued the rest, and the last scion of the Incas remained a prisoner at Ceuta until the constitution of 1820 was published in Spain. The blood that had been spilt was not useless—the *repartimiento* was abolished.

The creoles, on their part, could not resignedly submit to the government under which they lived; the persecutions they suffered and the sight of the interests of their country sacrificed to the insatiable greed of the mother country obliged them to think of their emancipation. At the same time that the Indians, their brethren, endeavoured to regain their lost liberty, the province of Socorro (Nueva Granada) rose in revolt on account of some vexatious imposts. The patriots arrived at the walls of Bogotá, bearing the following inscription on their banner: “God save the King! Death to wicked Governors!” The archbishop, in his pontifical robes and carrying the Host, intervened, in order to pacify the rebels; but some time afterwards Socorro was decimated and the greater part of its inhabitants sent to the unhealthy coast districts, where they almost all perished.

Some reforms were then projected; but it was too late! The foundations of that domination of three centuries were shaken; they had been disturbed by the revolutions of the United States and of France and even by the exertions of Spain herself to gain her own liberty.

Before relating in a separate chapter the glorious and prolonged struggle of the Americans to attain their emancipation, a struggle which had its martyrs as it had also its heroes; before we see the results of the oath that Bolívar, then an unknown young man who was travelling in Italy, took on the Sacred Mount, to liberate his country from foreign domination, we must fulfil what we promised at the commencement of this chapter by examining the consequences of the settlement of the Portuguese, Dutch, French and English in our country. After

having seen the inconsiderate conduct of Spain towards her most important colonies in South America, it is fitting that we pause to explain that of the Portuguese towards Brazil.

We have said that the immense territory of Brazil had been divided, since 1534, into captaincies, which the king gave in fee to the nobles of the court, marking out forty or fifty leagues of coast without determining how far they extended inland, with full civil and criminal jurisdiction and liberty to grant lands in fee, without reserving to himself any other of his prerogatives than the right to impose the penalty of death, to coin money and exact the tenth; and now we will add that the feudatories undertook to colonise them at their own expense, governing them and defending them against the Indians and the foreigners. Portugal, which in the earlier years showed that she did not understand the importance of Brazil, sent to this colony scarcely any other than malefactors and bad women, and during this period the attacks of the Indian savages, the tyranny of the Portuguese, the mutual rivalry of the captains, who were completely independent of one another, and some romantic adventure or other make up the history of this country. John III., knowing the real wealth of this country, desired to colonise it and give it a stable organisation by revoking the powers granted to the feudatories and appointing a Governor-General, a charge that was first undertaken by Tomás de Sousa, who was remarkable for his expeditions and who formed a nucleus for Portuguese America by founding San Salvador. This system lasted more than two centuries and had the Franciscans, the Carmelites and principally the Jesuits for auxiliaries, who, it must be confessed, were able to protect the Indians against the bestial ferocity of the colonists, who treated them with unheard-of cruelty.

The Jesuits Nobrega and Anchieta built the first huts on the banks of the Piratiniga, which in process of time became the city of San Paulo, the capital of the famous colonies of the Paulists or Vincentists, who were the most active agents in the colonisation of Brazil. These bold adventurers, the product of the crossing of the European and aboriginal races, who are legendary in the history of this country, were the veritable explorers and conquerors of the interior provinces; these *bandeirantes*, expeditionary chiefs, after confessing and communicating,

started out and explored vast territories, opening up a road through the woods with their axes, crossed rivers and marshes, scaled the loftiest mountains and, ever victorious, reached even the most remote deserts, displaying the industry necessary for the new colonies and subduing wild nature with a firmness carried even to ferocity. Their adventurous and covetous character allowed them no other occupation than going in search of some country that promised gold, and hunting the wild Indians who had taken shelter in the woods, which was what they called *descer indios*, pitilessly slaughtering those who would not submit to slavery and carrying off the rest to the market, where they were sold in a special place called "Curral". As a contemporary writer, the Brazilian Macedo, observes: "Whatever may have been the disturbances excited by the fathers of the Company of Jesus in their disputes for the domination or administration of the Indians, whatever may have been the abuses committed by them, guided by a material and worldly interest, it is an indubitable fact that their influence, acts, system and real or apparent plans of preponderance and temporal aggrandisement deserve the blessings of humanity when compared with the burning of Indian towns, the horrible slaughters, the reduction of thousands of the aborigines to slavery by the *bandeiras* or *descidas de indios*, and so many other atrocious crimes committed by the colonists, who were then looked upon as heroes and whose monstrous crimes are now estimated at their just value by civilisation".

The Jesuit, with all his faults, was a saint compared with the Portuguese colonist, who murdered Indians by hundreds solely for the pleasure of shedding blood, and reduced whole tribes to slavery. We might quote thousands of examples in support of our assertions, but we will confine ourselves to pointing out a few, chosen at hazard among the many that the history of the colonisation of this country records. In the second half of the sixteenth century the Bishop of San Salvador was going to Lisbon when, being cast by a storm near the banks of the San Francisco, he and 100 men of the crew were eaten by the Cahetés. On receiving the news of this misfortune the governor published a decree condemning to perpetual slavery the Cahetés and their descendants, from which resulted the extermination of the entire tribe and the increase in the Indian slave trade, since it was

sufficient to assert that a native belonged to this tribe in order to reduce him to servitude. To avenge the death of some soldiers who were sent to protect the trade in Red Skins, caused by the resistance offered by the Caboquenas in defending their liberty, Pedro da Costa Favella burnt at the mouth of the Urubu thirty villages belonging to that tribe, shot 800 of those unfortunate wretches and carried off the rest for slaves (1665). Whenever a want of hands was felt, whether in the cities or the country, hunting excursions were ordered by the Government. One of these expeditions, undertaken in 1628, met with an obstinate resistance from the Indians; but what could naked men with their spears and arrows do against disciplined troops provided with firearms? Such a slaughter was made among them that the Governor of Pará, Francisco Coelho Carvalho, forced by public indignation, hastily recalled his emissaries and annulled the decree permitting the trade at all times, limiting it to two hunts a year, a decree that was respected by nobody, hunting Indians continuing as before. At the beginning of this century such infamous means were employed to destroy the Botocudos, descendants of the Aymorés, as the sending them presents impregnated with the virus of small-pox, it having been observed that this disease raged more fiercely in them than in the other American races. It will surprise nobody, after what has been said, to learn that the greater part of the tribes that were in Brazil when the Portuguese came to occupy it have completely disappeared. This destruction of the indigenous races, although it is greater than that committed by the Spaniards in their colonies, has nevertheless not been so complete as in the United States, since the Indians still form one-fifth of the population of Brazil.

In a word, the conduct of the Portuguese in this part of America was completely analogous to that followed by the Spaniards in their colonies. If the powerful minister of José I., the Marquess of Pombal, following the example of Charles V., decreed that the Indians were to be the equals of the Portuguese in the eye of the law; if he enacted penalties against those who attempted to maintain between Indians and Europeans the degrading distinctions introduced by the Jesuits and the colonists, he did not by that means succeed in stopping the evils that he

endeavoured to prevent, the Indians continuing as before to be exposed to the greed and cruelty of private individuals and to the exactions of the magistrates who ought to protect them. Erroneous ideas on political economy also led the Portuguese to restrain the liberty of commerce, prohibiting importation and exportation and closing Brazil to foreigners. Believing that monopoly would enrich their country, they created the Company of Gran Pará and of the Maranham, and granted it exorbitant privileges. On the other hand, the regulations that were laid down for the accomplishment of the reforms that were decreed were scarcely ever carried out. In order to form an idea of what the Portuguese proconsuls were, it will be sufficient to say that in 1800 Francisco Sousa Continho, the Governor of Pará, ordered the midwife Valera and two of her assistants to be whipped and thrown into the water with a stone round their necks because his mistress died in child-bed.

Before terminating this rapid review of the colonisation of Brazil by the Portuguese, we must state that the Brazilian clergy were, if possible, more lax than those of the Spanish colonies; and to prove it we will employ the words of a very conservative and Catholic writer, M. de Saint-Hilaire, an authority that no one can refuse to accept. Let us hear him : "Under pretence of being indemnified for the Easter communion (a pretence that fortunately the Catholics of Europe cannot understand), the parish priests succeeded in introducing the custom that each person who received the communion should pay 300 reis. A charitable ecclesiastic never exacted anything from the indigent; but priests have been known who, at the moment of administering the communion for the fulfilment of the Easter parochial duties, suspended this solemn act to demand the accustomed fee from the poor. Confession," adds Saint-Hilaire, "is the sacerdotal office that occupies most time, and yet I have seen five negroes confessed in a quarter of an hour. If the ecclesiastics pray they must do it very secretly, for I have only seen it done once. To be an ecclesiastic is here a kind of profession, and they themselves consider it very natural to regard the priesthood under this aspect. There are also many examples of ecclesiastics who devote themselves to commerce and sell in a shop." When a writer so Catholic as M. de Saint-Hilaire feels himself obliged

to confess this, those who paint in more vivid colours the demoralisation of the Brazilian clergy may very well be believed.

To finish the history of the colonisation of South America by the Europeans, let us now give short accounts of what the conquerors of Guyana have done in this direction, namely, the French, Dutch and English, omitting the Spanish and Portuguese, not, indeed, because the part of Guyana that these two nations possessed at the beginning of the century has been incorporated respectively in the republic of Venezuela and the empire of Brazil, but because Spain, like Portugal, behaved in Guyana as in the rest of her colonies.

La Guyana, situated at the north-east of South America, was first explored in the year 1535 by the Spaniard Diego de Ordaz, who, after two voyages up the Orinoco, founded the city of Santo Tomás. After the Spaniards came the French, who succeeded, after various attempts and a war of extermination which they carried on against the natives, in establishing themselves in Cayenne. The English, in their turn, went to lay the foundation of a colony on the ruins of that which the French had founded in Surinam, and which, in 1666, was taken from them by the Dutch, who kept it. When, later, war broke out between Great Britain, Holland and France, the latter lost her settlements until Vice-Admiral d'Estrées recovered them in 1674. Guyana being at length divided among the powers who disputed its possession, the French Government made the greatest efforts to colonise the part that had fallen to its share; but unfortunately, imitating the Spaniards and Portuguese, after having almost entirely annihilated the indigenous races, thought that the best means of making the colony prosperous was to import some cargoes of negroes from the coast of Africa. These were treated with such cruelty that many of them sought refuge in the fastnesses of Dutch Guyana, founding in the year 1766 in the deserts of this province the first of the three republics of escaped negroes, whose independence has been recognised by Holland. Louis XV. organised an expedition remarkable for the want of foresight with which the 14,000 emigrants who composed it were allowed to perish of hunger, thirst and sickness. The men of the French Revolution converted this colony into a place of exile for all those whom the different parties who disputed the government of the

First Republic alternately proscribed, and from that date, not only the revolutionaries but also the despots have transported to Cayenne a great number of politicians. In 1809 French Guyana fell into the hands of the Dutch; the Portuguese took it from them and in 1814 it was restored to France, which since that time has made many attempts at colonisation, sometimes desiring to make it an agricultural and at others a military colony. This uncertainty and vacillation have doubtless impeded its progress.

The Dutch and the English, in the wars that they had carried on between themselves and with France, Spain and Portugal for the conquest and possession of Guyana, sometimes fighting against and at others allying themselves with the natives, powerfully contributed to their destruction, without taking much pains to civilise them, as is demonstrated by the fact that, in our days, many of the tribes in this region lead a nomadic life. English Guyana also, or the government of Essequibo-Demerara, and Dutch Guyana, whose capital, Paramaribo, is situated on the left bank of the Surinam River, have prospered very little more than French Guyana.

As Americans, we cannot close the few lines that we have allotted to Guyana without deplored that this beautiful and fertile region continues subject to the dominion of three European powers, who have no more right to its possession than force and our own weakness give them. If the American powers, if the States of our South America, instead of consuming themselves as hitherto in sterile and intestine dissensions, would understand that union is strength, certain it is that, without the need of an appeal to arms, they would sooner or later secure that no flag but that of the American States should float in America. This is an enterprise that, if we do not realise it, no doubt our children will, and only then will they have the right to exclaim: "We have a country, since all America belongs to the Americans".

## CHAPTER V.

### EMANCIPATION OF THE COLONIES OF SOUTH AMERICA—CONSTITUTION OF ITS VARIOUS NATIONALITIES.

THE third period of the history of the South American colonies in relation to their respective mother countries, we may say begins for the Spanish possessions with the events in Caracas and Buenos Aires (1810), and for the Portuguese with the Declaration of Independence of Brazil, which was converted in 1822 into a constitutional empire.

We have seen what the public spirit was at the end of the eighteenth century, and it can no doubt be attributed to the conduct of Spain at that time, and to her obstinate persistence in refusing to listen to counsels that would have been profitable to her, that the idea of an insurrection, which very soon became general and more than justifiable on the impartial ground of history, spread.

The revolution of Aranjuez decided this question. The Spanish people had dethroned the feeble Carlos IV., that king who, occupying himself only in the pleasures of the chase and the care of his stables, had placed all his authority in the hands of Godoy, whom some authors have supposed to have had illicit relations with the queen. When Ferdinand VII., the worthy son of an imbecile father and a, perhaps, guilty mother, assumed the Crown of Spain, numerous quarrels broke out between these Bourbons, whom, on the other hand, Napoleon endeavoured to depreciate at all costs. Determining causes of the rupture with the Americans may also be found in the imprisonment of this unfortunate family at Valençay, in their exchanging their rights for certain pensions, in the imposition of the Napoleonic dynasty and the want of tact of the political parties who were disputing for power. All these facts gave the colonies a sacred right,

as it were, to rebel against the mother country, and throw off what for them was equivalent to the heavy yoke of slavery. America would no longer participate in the fate of that conquered Spain, which, even in the midst of her misfortunes, endeavoured to exact from them a strict obedience, and not knowing whom to obey, since at the same time decrees and proclamations arrived from Carlos IV., Fernando VII., and even from an intrusive and casual king, Joseph Bonaparte; not knowing which of the parties to obey nor what Junta to respect, since they received simultaneously orders from those of Cadiz, Seville and Asturias, each claiming to be exclusively legitimate, at the same time that they received orders from the Council of Regency; they saw a ray of hope in this species of anarchy, and the idea of independence began to germinate in the minds of the colonists.

The movement, begun in 1809 at Quito, in the north-west of the department of Ecuador in the province of Colombia, was repressed at that time, after two of its promoters had paid for it with their lives, but was successful in less than a year.

Precisely between 1808 and 1810 it might be thought that the mother country was about to make laudable endeavours to preserve those territories by taking away every pretext for rebellion. The colonies received at that time considerable favours and subsidies, and the justly-demanded reforms were attempted to be introduced, since, besides the royal decree of 22nd January, 1809, which had declared that the American provinces were not considered like the colonies of other nations, but as an integral part of the monarchy, and consequently ought to have a direct and immediate representation in the Spanish Córtes, the Junta of Seville sent in 1810 to the Spanish-Americans to say: "At last you are raised to the dignity of free men! Those times are already past in which, under the weight of an insupportable yoke, you were the victims of absolutism, ambition and ignorance. Bear in mind that, electing your representatives in the Córtes, your destiny will no longer depend on ministers, kings or governors, but is in your own hands." After this explicit declaration, however, of the manner in which Spain had governed her colonies, the decree was published by the terms of which those representatives were to be elected. There was to be one

for each capital, chosen by lot from three individuals designated by the municipalities, according to the formalities that the viceroy would be pleased to lay down.

When the Regency of Cadiz came to replace the central Junta, the ordinances of 1809 on the liberty of commerce, which they had re-established, were abolished, the immediate consequence of such an extraordinary measure being to arouse men's minds in Caracas, where the principles of liberty and equality had germinated with greater force than in the other South American colonies. The Municipal Council formed itself into a supreme Junta of government, 19th April, 1810, and at the same time that it recognised Ferdinand VII., it rebelled against the decrees of the Regency. The formation of this Junta coincided with the arrival of certain agents who went to demand the oath of fidelity to Joseph, and who were received with the shout of "Long live Ferdinand!" since the hatred against Napoleon and all his partisans, who were called *afrancesados*, was as general in the colonies as at home. The viceroy of Nueva Granada, accused of intending to deliver America into Napoleon's hands, was exiled to Cartagena, and almost simultaneously the provinces of Cundinamarca, Pamplona and Socorro, as well as those of the north, Tunja, Casanare, Antioquia, Choco, Neiva and Mariquita, rose, the province of Quito attempting a second rising at the mere rumour that was circulated that French troops were threatening Nueva Granada. The viceroyalty having disappeared from the latter, each provincial capital desired to be the seat of the Junta without heeding the rest; but as union was absolutely necessary to attain the end that was proposed, it was fixed in Santa Fé de Bogotá and recognised Ferdinand VII., inviting Caracas to imitate it; but this province, which obeyed General Miranda, an old companion in arms of Washington, would not accept the invitation, replying that the representatives of the united provinces of Venezuela were going to found a free government, which in fact they afterwards did, entering to form part of the Republic of Colombia, by declaration of the deputies of Caracas, Varinas, Barcelona, Cumaná, Margarita, Mérida and Trujillo, but afterwards, in 1830, declared themselves an independent state.

The insurrection had taken alarming proportions in various

other parts of America. Buenos Aires and Montevideo maintained a war against the English from 1804 to 1807, the ports of La Plata having to support continuous and formidable blockades. Jacques de Liniers, a Frenchman by birth, in the service of Spain, reanimating the courage of the colonists, had succeeded in raising the blockade ; these inexperienced soldiers, proud of their success and allowing themselves to be led by the advice of such men as Moreno, Castelli, Belgrano and Valcárcel, all imbued with ideas imported from the United States and France, formed the nucleus of the army of the insurrection, so that in a short time Buenos Aires was prepared to sustain the struggle in a formal and decisive manner. An assembly of about 600 notables of the country deprived the viceroy Baltasar de Cisneros of power in 1810, and the movement that was directed by Castelli and Belgrano went on gaining ground daily and overcame all opposition in spite of the reinforcements that the wife of John VI. sent them from Portugal, and the formation of an army corps under the command of the viceroy of Peru. Victory remained with the men of Buenos Aires after a few days' contest, and many Spanish officers were made prisoners after being deserted by their soldiers, Montevideo serving as a refuge for the royalists, where they established their headquarters, no doubt with the intention of making a last attempt, but very soon, in Montevideo as in all the provinces of Paraguay, supreme Juntas were formed and the revolution became general.

Chili also rose in 1810, and succeeded equally in gaining the victory, this being more remarkable inasmuch as the Chilians, having a very small quantity of arms, had to manufacture cannon out of the trunks of trees, which could only be discharged four times, and some battalions had only agricultural instruments for their defence. To struggle and conquer under such conditions could only be done by a people who rose at the sacred call of liberty !

The cause of independence presented a different aspect among the Peruvians, since, although Upper Peru struggled with true heroism, Lower Peru remained loyal, and this gave a strong base to the Spaniards. The revolution having broken out in May, 1809, in Charcas and La Paz, a small army corps from Buenos Aires marched to them in order to support the movement, and

being joined by many revolutionists, succeeded at length in entering Potosí, guided by Castelli and Valcárcel. The victories gained by the Government of Lima are worthy of mention, although they were not of any real use, since, being obliged to divide their forces to oppose the insurgents of Quito, Upper Peru and Chili, it must be acknowledged that their position was very much compromised. In the capital, a beautiful and indolent city, the movement was not taken up with equal enthusiasm by all classes of the population. It was supported everywhere by the members of the lower order of the clergy; but, on the other hand, the high dignitaries of the Church, the nobility and the families and dependants of the public officers rejected it. Referring to the former, a letter of "Morillo to his Government," published in the *Revolutions of Spanish America*, says that they were very discontented, not a single one appearing devoted to the Government of the King of Spain. The younger members of the upper classes gave great support to the cause of the revolution, since their admirable sentiments of patriotism made them submit to the exigencies of the conscription where it was established, as in Venezuela, while it was necessary to take men of lower rank by force to the army. The negroes and Indians, brutalised by slavery, allowed themselves to be dragged away equally by those who defended, as by those who attacked, the insurrection that was to give them their liberty.. In various parts, and especially in Buenos Aires, some tribes took advantage of the movement to renew their raids, which carried terror and misfortune into many districts; and everywhere the cause of independence suffered alternations, events being sometimes favourable to it and sometimes adverse. If at that time Spain had had a man of sufficient practical talent to advise them, perhaps it might have been easy to preserve the extensive districts of those rich colonies which remained loyal to the country, allowing them to enjoy, by means of prudent reforms in their administration, the conquests that had cost them such great efforts.

The American insurrection, like all great social shocks, produced extraordinary men, of whom Simon Bolívar, the legendary hero of South America, may be reckoned the chief, since in him that gigantic struggle for American liberty which was to last

for fifteen years was personified. His country has given him the name of *Liberator*, and one of the States that owe their liberty to him bears his name.

Simon Bolívar was born in Caracas in 1785; he was the youngest of the four children of Juan Vicente Bolívar y Ponte, colonel of the militia of the plains of Aragua, a rich and respected man. An orphan from the age of six years and master of an immense fortune, Simon was sent while still a youth to Madrid to finish his education in the family of his uncle the Marqués de Palacios, and, after travelling for some time in Europe, at the age of eighteen he married his cousin, the daughter of the Marqués de Toro, whom he took back to Caracas, but had the misfortune to lose her within five months of their arrival, the victim of a violent attack of yellow fever. After so great and irreparable a loss, he returned to Europe, where he remained visiting various capitals until 1809, passing on his return through the United States. During his stay in France he had an opportunity, after the apotheosis of Napoleon, to observe the energy of a whole nation which had freed itself by an effort of its will, and in the United States, to admire the honoured and illustrious Washington.

After his return to his estates in Aragua, the revolution which demanded his services came suddenly upon him, and having been sent to England with Luis Lopez y Mendez to solicit her protection, they set out for London, where they were received very coolly, because the English Government, making common cause with the Spanish Cortes against the French domination, could not support a movement contrary to the nation to which they were bound by previous engagements.

Bolívar, being obliged to return to America, took with him a small quantity of arms, and General Miranda, an old and valiant soldier also a native of Caracas, who had always conspired to give liberty to his country, and who, being expatriated for his well-known labours in favour of independence, had been going about the world for five and twenty years in search of resources for the cause. Miranda had served with Dumouriez in France and with Washington in the United States, and already weary of hoping, and relying only on his own resources and those of a few friends, he organised an expedition that disembarked at

Ocumare, and afterwards at Coro, but had an unfortunate termination from the ill reception that his compatriots gave him on that occasion. When, then, he joined Bolívar, although at an advanced age, he offered his services to his country with the same faith that he had in his youth, and he was rewarded by being placed at the head of the movement.

In 1812, on Holy Thursday, a terrible earthquake overthrew nine-tenths of the houses in Caracas. The clergy, taking advantage of the terror that such a catastrophe caused among the inhabitants, attributed it to the effect of God's anger, and thus a certain reaction was produced in favour of the Spanish arms, which caused them to gain some ground. General Monteverde, a man of rough manners and great severity, succeeded in recovering Venezuela at the head of the royalist troops and obliged Miranda to capitulate, with the promise of an amnesty in favour of the rebels, a promise that was not kept, and the unfortunate general, the victim of the reactionary rule that was established through this feat of arms, was sent by Monteverde to Cadiz, where he died in one of the dungeons in 1816, after having had the grief of seeing Bolívar among his enemies. Monteverde succeeded in spreading terror through those provinces, which saw their prisons filled, the horrible instruments of torture laid out every moment, the fields covered with unfortunate wretches cast out of the city after having had their noses, ears, or cheeks cut off, or having suffered no less cruel tortures. The cause of independence was then passing through a very bad crisis in Venezuela as well as in Nueva Granada.

The position of the revolutionists in Chili was not much more satisfactory, since the reaction was gaining advantages in Quito, while they were waiting for the brave Mariño, who came at length at the head of a new expedition and wrested that country again out of the hands of the Spaniards. By good fortune La Plata was now completely emancipated, and the armies of Artiga and Lopez held the Spaniards in check on the frontiers of Chili and Peru, the cause of Spain being considered completely lost in the last.

Bolívar had taken refuge in Curaçao with his cousin, Félix Ribas, where he collected all the refugees in order to take them to Cartagena, a province that had been able to preserve its

freedom. He there laid his plan before Congress. This consisted in making use of all the resources that they might be able to give them, in order to liberate Venezuela and save Nueva Granada at one and the same time. His petition having been considered, the Congress furnished him with money, arms and provisions, and Manuel Castillo sent to him 500 men ; these, united with the 300 Venezuelans who followed him, formed a small army corps under his command of 800 men, the second in command being the above-named Ribas. The expedition left Cartagena in January, 1813, and Castillo wanted to march immediately on his own account, advancing towards the East, while Bolívar received orders from Congress to occupy and hold Barancas, a town on the banks of the Magdalena. Bolívar, who did not wish to remain inactive, resolved to disobey these orders, promising himself to obtain pardon for this fault by covering himself with glory.

He first seized Tenerife, a town situated on the right bank of the Magdalena, then Mompox, and lastly Ocaña, dividing, beating and dispersing the enemy. When he entered Venezuela, Nueva Granada was already free. The cruelties of Monteverde saved the revolution, obliging the moderates to throw themselves into the arms of the patriots. Recruits arrived from all parts, and already followed by more than 2000 men when he penetrated the Andes in the environs of Pamplona, Bolívar saw many thousands of volunteers united under his banners after he had succeeded in joining Ribas in the territory of Venezuela. Six hundred Granadinos sent by the Congress of Tunja had come with Ribas at the same time that Colonel Briceno, detached in Guadalito, arrived with a body of cavalry. Without loss of time Bolívar attacked the royalists at La Grita and afterwards at Mérida, making himself master of the district of this name ; with the same rapidity he occupied the province of Varinas. In the meanwhile Mariño, that young student who, after passing all the military grades in a few months, was already named as one of the firmest supports of the revolution, defeated Monteverde, made himself master of the provinces of Cumaná and Barcelona, and took the title of general-in-chief and dictator of the eastern provinces of Venezuela. Favoured by these successes, which, however, were an obstacle to his views of unity, Bolívar divided his

army into two parts ; taking command of one, he placed Ribas in command of the other, and pursuing the Spaniards closely, beat them in Niquitas, Bétioca, Caracha, Barquisimeto and Varinas, at last reaching Monteverde, whom he totally defeated ; he then marched to Caracas, into which capital he made his entry (4th August, 1813) in a carriage drawn by twelve handsome young men ; the enthusiasm with which the man, who was henceforth saluted by the title of Liberator, was received was indescribable. In a few months he had gone over 150 leagues and fought fifteen battles, besides numerous smaller actions. His glory would have been complete if, in this memorable campaign, he had not responded by sanguinary executions to the horrible cruelties of Monteverde, which could never justify his own.

The liberation of Venezuela appeared to be completely assured, since Bolívar occupied almost half of the captaincy-general and Mariño the rest. The Spaniards held only a few unimportant points, Monteverde being blockaded in Puerto Cabello ; it was difficult to foresee that fortune would turn her back on the Americans.

Bolívar, who had taken the title of dictator of the western provinces of Venezuela, did not think of re-establishing the civil government, the only condition under which democracies can live without danger ; but the echoes of public opinion which reached him gave him to understand clearly the error that he had committed, and he hastened to convoke an assembly to which he gave an account of his operations and plans and tendered his resignation. This was not accepted, the dictatorship being conferred on him until Venezuela should be able to unite with Nueva Granada.

The royalists, who had not lost all hope, armed the slaves, under a promise of giving them their liberty, the vagabonds and all who had no visible means of subsistence whom they could meet with. At the head of these bloodthirsty bands was the ferocious Puy, who, after seizing Varinas, shot 500 patriots there ; Puy was lieutenant of Bover, the most dreaded of the adversaries of Bolívar. This Bover, a Castilian by origin, who had been successively sailor, coastguard and pedlar, and had been imprisoned for his misdeeds, had come to America seeking an asylum from justice. Although his motive is un-

known, he enlisted in the royalist ranks, in which he held the rank of captain at the time of the defeats of the Spaniards. He made an appeal to the idlers, the fugitives from justice, the negroes and the mulattoes, and with these organised a body of troops which, from their ferocity, deserved the name of *The Infernal Legion*, in which were many *llaneros*, barbarians from the plains, herdsmen and slaughterers, accustomed to tame the wildest horses, and unrivalled as horsemen. These men of the plains despised the mountaineer who lowered himself by going on foot, as well as the European, who could not endure a gallop continued for sixteen hours. They ride bare-back and have no other dress than a sort of short breeches or drawers. Stretched out over their horses, with lance in rest and a lasso in the other hand, they fall upon the enemy, and wound and destroy with the rapidity of lightning. No regular cavalry can resist the onset of these Cossacks of the Colombian steppes, who always leave behind them such terrible traces. The cupidity of these nomads had been excited by the promise to distribute the lands of the conquered among them, and thus he succeeded very quickly in getting together an army of 8000 men.

From the moment that Bover appears on the theatre of war, it acquired such a character of ferocity and barbarity that both sides rivalled each other in committing atrocities. Nevertheless, it is right to confess that it was Bover who began it by beheading in one day 1200 prisoners. The energy of Bover was more than once paralysed by the carelessness of the Spanish generals, and Bolívar succeeded in defeating him several times, as well as his lieutenants, the mulatto Roseta and the guerrilla chief Yañez. The dictator had the imprudence to risk himself with all his forces on the vast plains, where he was surprised and destroyed by the cavalry of Bolívar. Mariño, beaten almost at the same time, was driven back towards Cumaná. The conqueror entered Caracas with such precipitation that the dictator had only sufficient time to get on board a ship, trusting the safety of the republic to the mercy of the elements. Ribas collected the dispersed American forces and continued the campaign; but he was finally defeated in the battle of Erisa by Bover, who, receiving a spear wound, died on the field of battle. His ferocious soldiers made him a funeral worthy of

his person ; women, children and old men, all were put to the sword ; and Ribas, who had been taken prisoner, was shot and his head was sent to Caracas to be publicly exposed (December, 1814).

Bolívar had been able to reach Cartagena, which, with the province of Santa Marta, had been formed into a republic of which Torrices was president. Nueva Granada was very much divided. It will be remembered that a provisional Junta had been formed in Bogotá since July, 1810. The provincial deputies assembled in Congress had drawn up an Act of Federation which had not succeeded in obtaining the approbation of all the provinces, the dissidents electing a Junta called the Junta of Cundinamarca. In 1812 this assembly published its plan of a constitution, which was no better received than the preceding. Anarchy reigned everywhere. A third Congress assembled in Tunja (September, 1814), to which Bolívar offered his services. These were accepted, and, being ordered to march against Bogotá and its dictator Alvarez, he obtained the formal promise that the dissident provinces would join the confederation, although, in exchange, the old capital should be the seat of government. The Congress being installed in Bogotá immediately set about preparing means to repulse the Spaniards, who were expected to appear very shortly. Napoleon had fallen ; Ferdinand VII. already occupied the throne of his fathers, and very soon news arrived that he was sending a squadron with 10,000 men under the command of Morillo to succour the royalists. The speedy arrival of this important reinforcement had been communicated to all the viceroys. The Madrid Government, thinking no doubt that they still had to do with the Indians of Cortez and Pizarro, had conceived the hope that, on this news alone, the rebels, seized with terror, would immediately submit in a body ; this was reckoning too much on the prestige of the Spanish arms, which it was already known were not invincible. These events coincided on the other hand with the capitulation of Montevideo, the last refuge of the mother country in the old viceroyalty of Buenos Aires, which was converted from that moment into an independent state. The new republic formed a squadron and its seamen had beaten the Spanish fleet. Although it is certain that, by the capitulation of Montevideo and the 5500 men who defended it, Spain lost the only territory

that remained to her on the east coast of South America, it is not less so that these misfortunes had been partly counterbalanced by successes in Chili, which, in 1814, had again fallen under the yoke of the Spaniards, who gave themselves up to all the horrors of the most sanguinary repression. The guerrilla chief Rodriguez, nevertheless, constantly harassed the royalists of Chili, while, yielding to the suggestions of Belgrano and the Government of Buenos Aires, the provinces of Cuzco, Huamanga and Arequipa in Peru, which had hitherto continued tranquil, declared for the cause of independence, and the royalists were able to retain Lima with great difficulty.

The Granadine and Venezuelan chiefs had united ; Castillo, Cabal and Urdaneta acted for Nueva Granada, Bolívar and Mariño for Venezuela. Troops were sent to the south to support the Government of Quito, and Urdaneta marched towards the east, charged to restrain the devastating incursions of Puy. Bolívar, appointed captain-general of Nueva Granada and Venezuela, descends through the province of Magdalena at the head of 3000 men, surprises Mompos, where he shoots 400 prisoners, and demands reinforcements from Torrices in order to attack Santa Marta, reinforcements that the latter obstinately refused him, thinking it more important to uphold the independence of Cartagena with respect to Bogotá than to repel the enemy. Bolívar wishes to force the president to give him the troops which he requires, and instead of continuing his march, returns to Cartagena, thus losing precious time. In the meanwhile the enemy is approaching and the common danger averts a fratricidal struggle. He joins his troops to those that were in Cartagena and embarks alone for Jamaica, whence he hopes to bring succour, and when he has obtained this and is preparing to return, he receives news that Cartagena has surrendered after an heroic resistance of four months. Morillo entered Cartagena on the 6th of December, 1815 ; the city was nothing but a heap of ruins, since the whole strength of the enemy had been directed against it, and it thus expiated, very cruelly certainly, its refusal to assist the common cause. With the taking of this fortified town, Nueva Granada was again opened to the enemy, and the second period of the War of Independence terminated still more unfortunately than the first had done.

At first Morillo appeared to be animated by pacific intentions, but almost immediately, yielding to the suggestions of Morales, he gave orders that, with respect to the rebels, "all considerations of humanity" should be set aside. Summary executions, wholesale deportations, imprisonments, forced contributions and sequestration of property began everywhere. In the meantime the patriots were masters of the plain, which they defended with fierce obstinacy. After an important victory at Puente (16th February, 1816) Morillo allowed himself to be defeated by Urdaneta and Torrices, his position becoming very critical for a moment; 500 Spaniards went over to the patriots; the corsairs captured his convoys, blowing up one of his ships; Brion, that rich Dutch merchant of Cartagena, whom Caracas had made captain of a frigate and afterwards an admiral, brought to Bolívar, Mariño and 1500 resolute men with 1000 negroes furnished by Pétion. His bad faith, his tyrannical measures and his inhuman proceedings threw into the ranks of the rebellion very many men who were convinced that the capitulations and promises of pardon were nothing more than deceptions. A good example of this is what occurred in Bogotá, which opened its gates to the royalists after a formal treaty, in which the most complete amnesty was accorded to the inhabitants, a treaty that Morillo did not hesitate to violate by executing Torres, Lozano, Torrices, Cabal, Pombo, Caldas and 200 other patriots, exiling their families and confiscating their property. This man, endowed with incontestable military qualities, was nevertheless very far from having those necessary for pacifying a country. By exasperating the vanquished he rendered their submission impossible; and to him alone, who came to reconquer America, must his country impute its loss. He believed in the efficiency of the odious and arbitrary measures adopted by him, the execution of which he had entrusted to a permanent council of war, a council of purification, a committee of sequestrations and courts martial.

As we have said before, the Spanish flag floated over all the territory of Nueva Granada, and this fortunate success blinded Morillo, who, exaggerating his power and considering it as stable as it was invincible, was preparing to carry his system of terror to Peru. Bolívar undertook to dissipate his illusions. Having

secretly set sail from Cayes, he put himself at the head of an expedition composed of two ships of war and thirteen transports, fitted out for the most part at the expense of Brion. On the 2nd of May Brion defeated the Spanish flotilla, taking two vessels ; on the 3rd Bolívar disembarked on the Island of Margarita, which had fallen into the hands of the mulatto Arismendi, and the insurgents in a General Assembly, four days later, proclaimed the Republic of Venezuela one and indivisible and Bolívar head of the same. Arismendi presented to the dictator a gold-headed cane, "emblem of the supreme authority in a country that can bend under the blast of adversity, but never break".

The Scotchman Mac Gregor at the head of 600 men was ordered to go to the succour of Mariño and Píar, who were holding out in Guyana, while Paez, taking the province of Apure as the base of his operations, ejected Morillo from it. The Indian Paez, who had passed his youth among the *llaneros*, proposed to draw his old companions from the reactionary party, uniting them to the cause of independence, a thing that was not difficult for him, inasmuch as the Spanish Government, proceeding with the greatest ingratitude and thinking they had no further need of their services, had contemptuously disbanded them without giving them the slightest remuneration. They passed over, then, to serve the cause of the revolution, of which they were the most efficacious instruments. Paez, by his loyal and generous character, had become the idol of these untamed natures. The brave deeds of Paez, as numerous as they are surprising, are those of a legendary hero ; it is asserted that he repulsed the Spanish infantry by letting wild oxen loose against them ; that he arrested pursuit by setting fire to the steppes ; that he seized the royalist gunboats in the waters of the Apure by swimming ; that with his terrible lance he killed as many as forty enemies in the fight, and when he fell upon a flying division he completed the rout by his powerful voice and the fear that he inspired. Endowed with Herculean strength and unconquerable energy, he took part in the amusements and the dangers of his men. At the head of the ferocious *llaneros* of the plains of the Apure, he began those brilliant exploits that were later to make him the terror of the Spanish armies.

Bolívar, deserted by fortune, found himself obliged to beat a

retreat once more. He took refuge in Jamaica, where his life was seriously threatened by the poniard of the royalists ; but nothing could abate his courage ; active, resolute and fertile in resources, the moment had arrived when after having fallen to the bottom of the abyss he was to rise and issue from it. The disobedience of some chiefs, his rivals, had been very fatal to the cause of independence and would have been much more so if on their part the Spanish chiefs had not been so divided, since Morillo had taken the extreme step of arresting two general officers, Morales and Real. After many conferences, Arismendi, Via, Paez, Rojas, Monagas, Sedeño and Bermudez agreed to recognise him as generalissimo. He called together a general congress in the Island of Margarita, and the provisional government, of which he took the direction with the title of President of the Republic of Venezuela, was established in Barcelona, but some months later, after sanguinary combats, on the 7th of April, 1817, this city was recovered by the royalists, who in a short time were once again masters of almost all the coasts.

The position of the republicans was critical and perplexing, and in order to draw them from it, Bolívar conceived the daring project of transferring the insurrection to Guyana, which until then had remained loyal. This campaign was well directed by the liberator, seconded by Piar and Brion, and its success was so great that in less than three months that vast and rich province was subdued by the republican army, which entered its capital, Angostura, on the 17th of July. During this bold and distant expedition of the generalissimo, numerous and brilliant victories had been gained in other parts. General Morillo, who came in person to besiege the Island of Margarita, was defeated, his camp falling into the hands of the besieged, who on the other hand obliged the Spanish squadron to leave their coasts after miraculously escaping complete destruction. Insurrectionary movements increased in Nueva Granada, and guerrilla bands were numerous in the provinces of Antioquia, Quito and Popayan ; Paez with his cavalry gained two important victories over Morillo.

Before the termination of the year 1817 the seat of government was transferred to the capital of Guyana, and Bolívar, who had established his headquarters there, prepared to divide the lands among the independent soldiers as a recompense for their

sacrifices. The campaign of 1818, although it gave the republican generals opportunities of showing proofs of their courage and military knowledge, had no decisive result, the republicans only obtaining possession of San Fernando; but other events of immense importance occurred to awaken the general enthusiasm. The very great popularity that Bolívar enjoyed, not only on the American continent but also in Europe itself, attracted to his banners many volunteers from England, France and the United States of the North, with whom he organised a model legion; at the same time, in Washington and in London, *chargés d'affaires* of Venezuela were received, which was equivalent to recognising her existence. In England, Lopez Mendez, charged to contract loans and enlist men, had seen money and men, arms and munitions flow in; so that, besides the resources necessary to the prosecution of the war, the new republic at the end of 1818 relied upon 9000 foreign combatants. Despairing of conquering the liberator they attempted to assassinate him; twelve men armed with daggers penetrated one night into his tent, from which he escaped half dressed.

At the end of the year 1818 the republicans were in an excellent position; the Spaniards on the contrary found themselves reduced to the last extremity, having to face on all sides regular armies and the guerrilla bands which fell upon them suddenly. Bolívar, who remained in Angostura, after having occupied himself in the regulation of the administration, of agriculture and commerce, assembled in that city a National Congress, which he opened in person on the 15th of February, 1819, laying before it a draft constitution and resigning the dictatorship with which he had been invested. At the request of the Congress Bolívar accepted the presidency of the republic, of which Zea was appointed vice-president, until the new constitution was promulgated. The liberator, desirous of consolidating the independence, thought the time had arrived to go in search of Morillo, whom he succeeded in putting on the wrong track, moving his troops in different directions and pretending to operate in view of Caracas, while he marched, as he had intended, towards the south of Nueva Granada, of which the Spaniards had been in tranquil possession for two years. After many battles, in which the republicans were always victorious, Bolívar, not without

much fatigue, succeeded in joining Santander and taking him with him. Both armies being united continue their march across the plains, inundated by continuous rains, cross rivers that had overflowed their banks, penetrate deserts where they suffer the torments of thirst, and woods whose trees of a prodigious height intercept the light of day and drop with continuous rain, scale the scarped Andes of Tunja, and at length, after undergoing the most cruel sufferings for seventy days and losing a large part of their baggage and all their horses, they arrive at Paya on the 27th of June. Four days after, Bolívar meets in the valley of Sagamoso 3500 Spaniards, and, without heeding the inferiority of his forces or their piteous condition, routs them, and the same night Tunja falls into his hands. Other actions follow, and the republicans, by victory after victory, arrive at the bridge of Boyaca, where they gain a decisive victory over the partisans of Spain. When the news of this battle was spread in the province the insurrection broke out in all parts with such violence that the Spanish authorities saw no other means of escape than a precipitate flight. Bogotá opened its gates to the independents on the 10th of August, 1819, Santander being instantly appointed president of the provisional government.

During this time, the squadron of Margarita, commanded by Admiral Brion, took by assault the fort and city of Barcelona (18th July), while the Spanish squadron had to return to La Guayra after a fruitless attempt against Margarita. The triumph of the republicans was as complete as it was decisive. Bolívar having returned to Angostura amid the victorious shouts of the people, the Congress, in accord with public opinion, and after mature deliberation, carried out the favourite project of the liberator by sanctioning the fusion of the two provinces of Nueva Granada and Venezuela, which, in honour of Christopher Columbus, received the glorious name of Republic of Colombia (17th December, 1819).

Before proceeding farther, let us cast a rapid glance on the political situation of the different districts of South America. Let us begin our task with Brazil. John VI., then regent of the kingdom, flying from the French, had disembarked in Rio Janeiro on the 17th of January, 1808. On his arrival in this country, stirred like the rest by the ideas of liberty that agitated

the world, he promulgated first of all a decree permitting free entry into all the ports of the colony to the powers allied with Portugal, and on the 1st of April he published another permitting the inhabitants to devote themselves to the various classes of manufacturing industry and the various branches of commerce hitherto prohibited. After these came other reforms, and at last on 15th December, 1815, the colony was raised to the rank of a kingdom. These measures gave a new start to Brazil and caused a general rejoicing, which lasted but a short time, because the prodigalities of John VI., the enormous sums he needed to maintain his court and the nobles who accompanied him, and the contempt of these for the colonists, exasperated men's minds, predisposing them to strife. In 1817 the republicans of the provinces of Pernambuco raised the cry of liberty; but the insurrection was repressed and quenched in blood. Two years later the patriots met together secretly to bring about the fall of the royal government, which being known to the governor decided him to order the detention of seventy persons who were reputed to be the instigators of these movements of a decidedly democratic character. This beginning of imprisonments was the signal for the revolution, which burst out so powerfully that, in a very short time, Olinda fell into the hands of those who were afterwards called the independents. These, instead of profiting by their earliest advantages and the favourable disposition of the country, wasted their time in discussing a democratic constitution, by which they gave an opportunity for the royal army to march against the province, without their being able to oppose to it more than a few troops hastily called together, who disbanded at the first onset. On the 7th of May, 1819, the first revolution of Brazil was ended, and its chiefs, among whom were many ecclesiastics, paid with their heads for an attempt which was frustrated by their thinking that simple formulas are sufficient to give liberty to an oppressed people.

The events which happened in Europe in 1821 obliged the king to return to Lisbon, and on the Brazilians being informed of his speedy departure they resolved to form a representative chamber, meeting for that purpose in the hall of the Exchange at Rio Janeiro, which was invaded at midnight by the troops and all who were there assembled were put to the sword. The terror

caused by this butchery, which cost the lives of thirty persons, was so great that inquiries to ascertain the authors of such a horrible crime were not even thought of. This event was the precursor of the revolution, which, breaking for ever the bonds that united Brazil to Portugal, ended by proclaiming the Prince Dom Pedro, the second son of John VI., constitutional emperor.

In Paraguay, where the insurrectional movement of Buenos Aires had not yet penetrated, appeared General Belgrano, for the purpose of provoking and supporting a rising. The Paraguayans, far from sympathising with the men of Buenos Aires, ran to arms in order to repulse them, gaining a victory over them fifteen leagues from Asuncion, which obliged them to quit the province (1810). The ideas of independence that Belgrano had opportunely sown began to germinate in the minds of many creoles, who on the 14th of May, 1811, accomplished the revolution without spilling a drop of blood, and formed a committee of which Francia was appointed secretary. A short time after, a congress assembled in Asuncion and decreed that the country should be constituted a republic, and that the executive power should be conferred on two consuls elected annually. Francia, who was named first consul, succeeded in making himself dictator for life and head of the clergy; he suppressed the convents and chapters, persecuted the Spaniards, isolated the country, excluded foreigners as carefully as the Jesuits had done and surrounded himself with the precaution that mistrust always inspires in despots.

The provinces of the Rio de la Plata had definitively separated from the mother country. Neither the war with the Spaniards in Upper Peru, nor the armed intervention of Brazil, nor the efforts of the royalist party to prolong the anarchy, nor the rivalry of the chiefs, nor the insubordination of the army, nor the intrigues of the reigning houses of Europe, excited by a veritable rage for domination, could stop them on the road to their emancipation. The house of Braganza, taking advantage of the captivity of the Spanish princes, asserted the rights of Charlotte de Bourbon to reign; France claimed the Crown for the Duke of Orleans; there were not wanting those who wished to offer it to the Prince of Lucca, and lastly others desired it for Francisco de Paula, the brother

of Ferdinand VII. The first ten years of the revolution passed amidst the agitations and the incessant struggles of parties; but the magic words "country" and "liberty" united men of all parties in the hour of danger, and the young republic triumphed over all the obstacles that were raised against her on all sides. More than once she might be considered lost, since she was threatened in her own capital by rival parties, attacked in Banda Oriental by Artigas, who wished to make himself the head of this territory, threatened with disruption by the efforts for separation of the provinces, which were ill-disposed to bear the yoke of Buenos Aires, having to fear at the same time the arrival of a Spanish squadron and the attacks of a Brazilian army, exposed, in consequence of the victories of General Pezuela in Upper Peru and of Colonel Osorio in Chili, to invasion on both these frontiers, she understood that she needed a Government able to guide the revolutionary movement towards its object, and on the 15th of March, 1816, named Don Martin Puyredon as supreme director, under whom all these dangers successively disappeared. Artigas, who had seized for himself Santa Fé and Montevideo, after he was acknowledged by the Government of Buenos Aires as the head of the Banda Oriental (1815), repulsed an aggression of the Portuguese who endeavoured to seize all the country as far as the La Plata, obliging them to enter into negotiations with the republic of Buenos Aires. The Act of Independence of the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata, of which at that time the Provinces of Upper Peru (Bolivia) formed part, was proclaimed on the 6th of July, 1816, in the city of Tucuman, by the Congress assembled for that purpose.

This republic might have lived tranquilly if the project of the great powers of Europe to erect the territory of La Plata into a kingdom and bestow the Crown on the Prince of Lucca had not come to give new life to the already dying anarchy. Puyredon, who held supreme power, was accused of favouring these designs, destructive to liberty, and from that moment all was confusion and disorder. The republic was divided into as many states as there were provinces, hostilities breaking out between one city and another. The northern republics began<sup>d</sup> the war that was named after the Federalists, who, under the command

of Artigas, defeated Rondeau, the successor of Puyredon, at Cepeda, in consequence of which he was deposed two months after this battle, on the 16th of February, 1820. At the end of this month Federalists and Unitarians arranged peace by the treaty of El Pilar, in virtue of which it was agreed that the insurgent provinces should form a confederation under a central government and that the necessary steps should be taken to defend Banda Oriental against the continual menaces of the Portuguese, this important event being celebrated with public rejoicings. Artigas, who would not subscribe this convention, continued the war; but, being defeated shortly after by Ramirez, found himself under the necessity of demanding an asylum of the dictator of Paraguay, in a village of whose territory he died six years later. Spain, by taking advantage of these intestine dissensions, would have succeeded in part, if not completely, in re-establishing her lost authority, if complications at home had not prevented it; but, nevertheless, she bequeathed to Brazil the mission of perpetuating the war, by the pretensions of the House of Braganza to the possession of the eastern state of Uruguay, the usurpation of which was consummated in 1822, it forming part of Brazil under the name of the Cisplatine Province. After the treaty of El Pilar the federal republics of the United Provinces of La Plata formed six divisions: Buenos Aires, Mendoza, Tucuman, Córdoba, Salta, and Corrientes, comprising approximately 1,012,000 inhabitants. The federal army amounted to 30,000 men, of whom one half were cavalry, 13,500 infantry and the rest artillery.

The young republic of La Plata, in spite of the difficulties it had to overcome in order to secure its own independence, did not fail to offer and carry aid to the neighbouring countries which desired to be free. Puyredon had kept up active communications since 1815 with Bolívar and O'Higgins, the famous Chilian patriot, who, besieged in Rancangua and unable to hold out any longer, draped his banner in black crape, and, using coin for grape shot, fired his last guns, and then, by the light of the conflagration, cut his way through the enemy sword in hand, and arrived at Santiago, followed by 300 dragoons, all that remained of his army (1814). Chili bore with resignation the system of persecution organised by the commandant San

Bruno ; but influential men were preparing the revenge of liberty, for which purpose they were in correspondence with the Government of Buenos Aires and all the chiefs of the insurgent parties in Upper and Lower Peru.

Acceding to the requests of the patriots of Chili the Government of Buenos Aires sent to that country an army of 4000 men, commanded by San Martin, the Governor of Mendoza, having previously sworn to remain "united in sentiment and courage, in order not to suffer for the future any tyrant in America ; and like New Spartans never to bear the chains of slavery while the stars shone in the sky and blood ran in their veins". San Martin crossed the Andes by the pass of Los Platos, hitherto considered impracticable, and on the 11th of February, 1817, descried the royal army, which had taken up its position in Chacabuco. On the next day the battle which bears this name was fought, in which the royalists were routed, the result of which was to open the territory of Chili to the independents, who on the 15th of the same month entered Santiago, where they were received with unanimous acclamations. San Martin being unwilling to accept the executive power of the new government, it was confided to General O'Higgins, who had very effectively contributed to the victory and who, fearing that the Spaniards would again invade the liberated territory, was actively engaged in recruiting soldiers. The royalists, reinforced by 5000 men from Peru, prepared to take the offensive against the republicans, and this decided O'Higgins, while he was preparing to resist them, to proclaim the independence of Chili (1st January, 1818). After some actions of slight importance the Spanish general Osorio succeeded in surprising San Martin in the valley of Concha Rayada, routing him completely ; but on the 5th of April following the royalists lost the bloody battle of Maypo, which definitively secured the independence of Chili.

From this moment the Chilians did not content themselves with defending their own territory, but, in conjunction with the men of Buenos Aires, flew to the succour of the neighbouring peoples who were still oppressed by Spain. A fleet from Spain with 2000 men on board was defeated by the united forces of the two republics, and shortly afterwards the Chilian fleet, under the command of Lord Cochrane, an English officer, not only

swept the seas but disembarked 5000 men on the coasts of Peru (1820). Lord Cochrane and San Martin, sent to liberate Peru from Spanish rule, took Lima on the 28th of July, 1821, and on the same day the independence of this viceroyalty was proclaimed; and on the 3rd of August the protectorate of the liberty of Peru and the command in chief of the insurgent army were given to San Martin.

From what we have stated, it has been seen what the situation of the Spanish-American colonies was when the revolution of 1820 occurred in the mother country, which was initiated by the troops which Ferdinand VII. held ready in Cadiz to be led to our continent, in order to reduce it to obedience and subjugate it entirely. The 22,000 men who composed the expeditionary army destined to oppose the revolution in America proclaimed it in Andalusia, and imposed it on an absolute king, who accepted the democratic constitution of 1812. These events, although they were not, as some assert, those which determined the final emancipation of the colonies, doubtless favoured it in a very high degree. On learning them, General Morillo proclaimed the constitution of 1812 in the provinces still subject to his arms, and, despairing of conquering the republicans, endeavoured to open negotiations with them. For this purpose he sent commissioners to the deputies of Angostura and to the leaders of the republican troops proposing an armistice while treating for a definitive peace; but the generals and the Congress refused to suspend hostilities until a formal acknowledgment of the sovereignty and independence of the colony had been made. During the conferences, which were prolonged from the end of June to the end of August, the republican troops gained many advantages: Rio de la Hacha had fallen into their power; the province of Maracaybo was threatened by the capture of Mompox and Tenerife, and they were about to become masters of the Popayan, thanks to General Valdés, who had defeated the Spaniards in several encounters. Besides, Admiral Brion, already master of the lower part of the Magdalena, had laid siege to Cartagena, and these victories aroused so much enthusiasm and gained so many partisans for the cause of independence that, even in the royalist army, whole battalions deserted to join the republicans, and towns and entire districts, following this

example, openly adhered to the resolutions of the Congress, and proclaimed themselves independent. At this time Bolívar, moved by a sentiment of chivalrous courtesy, wrote to Morillo, begging the continuation of the negotiations relative to the armistice proposed by him, which was concluded at Trujillo on the 25th of November, 1820, between the Spanish and Colombian generals appointed for that purpose by Bolívar and Morillo, and ratified by them on the following day.

The principal clauses of this convention stipulated for the freedom of Maracaybo, determined that the blockade of Cartagena should not prevent the communications of that city with the interior of the country, and finally that the suspension of hostilities should continue for six months, the contracting parties agreeing to give forty days' notice of their resumption. The day following the signing of the treaty Bolívar and Morillo had an interview in the town of Santa Ana, in which they embraced with great emotion, dining afterwards at the same table and sleeping that night in the same apartment. The Spanish Government, discontented, recalled Morillo and replied by inadmissible proposals to the attempts at negotiation. On his side Bolívar, urged on by the army and by public opinion, which considered the convention of the 26th September as fatal to independence, gave notice, three months after it was signed, to General Latorre, the successor of Morillo, that hostilities would be resumed within the term fixed by it. On the 24th of June, 1821, was fought on the plains of Carabobo the famous battle of that name, in which the independents under Bolívar gained so complete a victory that it freed for ever that part of America from the dominion of Spain. That same night Valencia opened its gates to the liberator, who twelve days later became definitely master of Caracas and La Guayra. The victories of the republicans continued, Cartagena capitulating on the 5th of October, 1821, and ten days afterwards Cumaná did the same, and the Spanish troops, for the bravery which they had displayed in defending themselves, obtained the condition of being transported to Cuba and Puerto Rico.

During these successes the Congress, assembled in the town of Rosario de Cúcuta, the provisional capital of the new republic, was actively engaged in drawing up the Constitutional Code,

which was promulgated with great solemnity on the 30th of August, 1821. This constitution, modelled in a great measure on the law of the United States, presented, nevertheless, a character of centralisation that is not found in the latter. Its principal articles are : Nueva Granada, the captaincy-general of Caracas and Venezuela are declared to be an integral part of the new republic ; the inquisition is abolished ; the debt of the two states is acknowledged ; the legislative power is divided into two chambers, and the executive vested in a president elected for four years. Bolívar resigned to the Congress the presidency that he had exercised from the foundation of the republic, but was again invested with the supreme authority. In 1822 the United States of the North acknowledged the independence of Colombia and treaties of alliance and union were signed with Peru, Chili, Buenos Aires and Mexico. In November, 1823, the garrison of the town of Puerto Cabello, an important fortified seaport, and the only one that had held out in favour of the mother country in all the territory of Colombia, surrendered. At this time the liberator had been for some months, with the permission of the Congress, in Peru, which had demanded his aid, and where the young General Sucre, at the head of 3000 men, had preceded him. Canterac, general-in-chief of the Spanish troops, taking advantage of the dissensions of the republicans, had marched against Lima and made himself master of it, abandoning it on the arrival of Bolívar, who, being appointed dictator, endeavoured at once to put an end to internal discord. To attain this object he tried to make Agüero, the president who had been deprived by the Congress and was now in arms against it, understand the danger in which his ambition and obstinacy were placing the republic, but his patriotic observations not being heeded he marched with his troops to Trujillo, reducing the rebel by force of arms (October, 1823). By this event the authority of Congress was completely restored, and in November following it proclaimed the new constitution in Lima. The memorable victories of Junin and Ayacucho (1824), especially the last, in which the Spaniards, with very superior forces under the command of Canterac, lost six generals and 2600 men, the viceroy falling wounded into the hands of the republicans, secured the emancipation of Peru. On

the 22nd of January, 1826, with the capitulation of Callao, the only fortified place in South America that remained to Spain, the last Spanish soldier departed. The liberating army had succeeded, not without constant and heroic sacrifices, in gaining for ever the independence of their country. With the empire of the Incas all South America was free, and among the standards taken from the Spanish troops, who for fourteen years had fought against the emancipation of the Americans, was that with which Pizarro 300 years before had entered the capital of Atahualpa.

South America, through her brave armies, led by heroes such as Bolívar, Sucre, Paez, San Martin, O'Higgins and so many others, had caused Spain to expiate terribly her cruel and tyrannical conduct. Had the nine republics which were formed by the emancipation of the Spanish colonies and the Portuguese colony of Brazil, which was transformed into a constitutional empire, organisers, as they had had warriors? Did they rely on the genius of legislation, as they had done on that of war? This we shall see in the second part of this work.

# WEST INDIES. AND THE STATES OF CENTRAL AMERICA.

## AND THE STATES OF

## CENTRAL AMERICA.

English Miles.

### *Period of the Discovery - 1492*

### *Voyages of Columbus*

*First* \_\_\_\_\_ *Second* .....

*Third* —— *Fourth* ——





## PART SECOND.

### CHAPTER I.

#### THE UNITED STATES OF COLOMBIA

(NUEVA GRANADA).

THE country that the Spaniards knew generally under the name of *Terra Firma*, and which formed the viceroyalty of Nueva Granada and the captaincies-general of Caracas and Quito, after gaining its independence, was formed into a republic, to which, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, the name of *The United States of Colombia* was given, in order to vindicate the unjust forgetfulness that was revealed by the fact that hitherto the name of the illustrious discoverer of the New World had not been given to any of the many regions discovered by him. The constitution promulgated on the 12th of July, 1820, by the Congress General assembled at Cúcuta had been the object of the rudest attacks, a fact which is explained by taking into account that the parties who were struggling were on the one hand the Unitarians, who at all costs desired to maintain the union, and on the other the Federalists, who demanded separation under a treaty of alliance and union. The fundamental law of Colombia divided the republic into three provinces or separate states; Bogotá, Caracas and Quito. The supreme power of the confederation was vested in a president for life, but elective, and the Governments of the three states or provinces in three vice-presidents. Such was the constitution of Colombia until 1830, at which date, which is that of the death of the *liberator* or the *Washington* of South America, the illustrious Simon Bolívar, the bonds which united the provinces of this confederation were sundered, forming, as we shall see in due time, by their

dismemberment, the three states or republics of Nueva Granada, Venezuela and Ecuador.

The internal peace of Colombia being compromised by the dissensions of parties, Bolívar, who at that time (1826) was charged with the dictatorial government of Peru, hastily returned to his country, and, in order to rescue it from the anarchy with which it was threatened, seized the dictatorship. The army and the majority of the country applauded this resolution; but a part of the civil element, in which appeared his most decided adversaries, endeavoured to hold him up to the nation as an ambitious man who aspired, following in the steps of Napoleon, to proclaim himself emperor. There is never a lack of enemies to calumniate great men, and Bolívar could not escape the accusation of an ambition that he did not feel, namely, to raise a throne for himself on the ruins of his country's liberty. The man who preferred "the title of citizen to that of liberator, because the latter has its origin in war and the former in the law," according to the fine and noble answer that he gave to the Congress which offered him the presidency of the Colombian Republic at Santo Tomás de la Angostura, could not desire a crown; nor could the man desire it, who, on resigning power to the president of the Senate, wrote to him in 1824: "I desire to convince Europe and America of the horror with which supreme power inspires me, under whatever name it may be designated; my conscience is irritated by the atrocious calumnies that the *liberals* of America and the *serviles* of Europe accumulate against me;" and lastly, he could not aspire to found an empire for himself who, in the message that he addressed to the Congress of Bolivia, with a plan of a constitution, expressed himself in the following terms: "Liberty is already from this day indestructible in America. The wild nature of this country is in itself sufficient to repel every form of monarchical government. We have here neither great aristocratic powers nor high ecclesiastical dignities, without whose support tyrants cannot find a stable empire." It is, notwithstanding this, none the less certain that Bolívar wished to retain the dictatorship during his life; but because he considered it, and perhaps he was not wrong, as the only means of attaining the complete independence and aggrandisement of his country. We must forgive his defects, which he had as a man,

and recognise his untiring activity, his courage, his passion for the glory and independence of his country, his disinterestedness and generosity. We may be certain that he sacrificed everything to the cause that he defended with so much enthusiasm and decision, his blood, his life and his wealth. Some of his acts may be censured, and especially his love of command, but the purity of his intentions cannot be doubted ; and it is for this that as many heroes as fight and as many martyrs as die for the liberty of their country invoke his name.

While he was in Peru the liberator attempted to realise the great project that he had been nursing since he had conceived it in the year 1822, namely, to convoke an assembly of plenipotentiaries of the American states to deliberate, "under the auspices of victory," upon their common interests, to think over the means of defending themselves against Spain or any other nation that threatened their independence, opposing, at last, a vast American federation to the Holy Alliance and to the threatening principle of intervention proclaimed by the European Cabinets. It was Bolívar's opinion that this assembly might serve as a council in serious disputes, as a point of union in great dangers, as a faithful interpreter of public treaties and finally as an arbitrator. This project was during the year 1825 the object of an active correspondence between Colombia, Peru and the other new American states, and the United States themselves and Brazil. Bolívar considered it then very urgent, believing that France was inclined at that time to support, in the name of divine right, the cause abandoned by Spain. It was proposed to ask the Congress to form itself into a Committee of Public Safety independent of its electors, and to organise and place under its orders a powerful squadron and an army of 100,000 men. Mexico and Guatemala received the project with enthusiasm ; Chili and Buenos Aires, which asked time for consideration, as well as Brazil, which had declared war against La Plata, and the United States of the North were contented with the simple part of spectators ; as to Paraguay, she was a stranger to everything that passed beyond her frontiers. On the 22nd of June, 1826, the conferences were opened at Panamá, in that magnificent position from which American diplomacy could attend to and protect the interests of ten new states and constitute a republican federation opposed to the old

monarchical organisation of Europe. The Congress was scarcely opened when the effects of the climate made themselves felt in an alarming manner, the plenipotentiary of the United States and two secretaries of the British commissioner dying almost at the same time, for which reason, and under the menaces of a danger that increased every moment, the representatives of Colombia, Peru, Mexico and Guatemala hastily signed a treaty of perpetual union and confederation, adjourning *sine die*; but later events prevented the realisation of this grand project. There are not wanting those who assert that Bolívar secretly nourished the idea of organising Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, La Plata and Chili into a grand and immense republic of which he proposed to be the supreme head, the American continent being thus divided into four great states: Mexico, aggrandised at the expense of Guatemala; the United States of the North; Brazil; and, lastly, under the name of the United States of the South, the rest of South America. We do not pretend to affirm or deny the certainty of the proposal attributed to Bolívar, but it is a fact that the union of the three republics of Bolivia, Peru and Colombia under the title of confederation, with a capital, the seat of a chief elected for life and hereditary, was almost realised. The system of centralisation to which the liberator had shown himself so much attached had many enemies in the country, and the most important of them was, without doubt, Paez, Bolívar's old companion in arms, who represented Venezuela in the Colombian senate. He demanded the absolute autonomy of this country which had given him the military command. The vice-president, Santander, though he publicly and apparently opposed the federalist or separatist party, secretly supported it, intending to deceive this party, then to annihilate it by astuteness, and afterwards to substitute Bolívar himself. He, who well knew where his enemies were, proposed to get rid of them by attacking them separately and opposing one to another, but his calculations did not obtain the result that he expected. In March, 1826, Bolívar had obtained from Congress an accusation against the administration of Paez, and he, supported by Marino, endeavoured to excite a rebellion. Quito, Guayaquil, Maracaibo, and Puerto Cabello hoisted the banner of revolution, the success of which obliged the liberator to come from Peru to re-establish order. He

marched against the rebels, promptly subdued many of the revolted cities, got the dictatorship offered to him by the municipalities and granted an amnesty. By a decree of the 3rd of August, 1827, he convoked a great National Assembly of Colombia, which was to meet in the city of Ocaña on the 2nd of March, 1828, for the purpose of examining whether the constitution ought to be reformed and if so to proceed to its reformation. This decree succeeded in re-establishing a sort of momentary calm. In reality, by convoking this Congress, Bolívar only intended that the extraordinary powers which he had got conferred upon himself by the municipalities should be confirmed. Intrigue, if not coercion, presided at the elections. Of the 108 deputies elected sixty-four appeared at Ocaña ; the remainder, mistrustful of Bolívar's intentions, remained at home. The Congress assembled, but discord broke out from the first sessions. The friends and partisans of Bolívar accused Santander of waste, and, making the most of the necessity for a strong government, presented a plan of constitution in which the federalists thought they discovered the foundations of a throne for the liberator. These fears spread, and the Bolívarists clearly saw that the popularity of their hero was waning. The withdrawal of twenty deputies made the deliberations of the Congress impossible, and it had to close, thus producing a great agitation. The liberator, being a few leagues from Ocaña, from whence he directed the action of his partisans, thought the moment for action had arrived ; he made a proclamation in which the Congress was indirectly blamed, and incited the provinces to adopt extraordinary measures. In Bogotá, Cartagena and Caracas, which he visited in succession, popular assemblies organised by his tools were convoked and opened, in which deliberations were carried on under the protection of the bayonets, the municipalities beseeching him to take supreme power and save the country. The republic was passing through a terrible crisis.

During this time Peru threw down even the remains of the semi-monarchical constitution known under the name of the Bolivian Code, which the liberator had imposed on her. The Congress of Lima declared in 1827 that Bolívar, as president for life, was an obstacle to the liberty of the country. General Lamar, who was appointed president, blockaded the coasts of

Colombia, and thus war from the outside came to augment the ills produced by internal discord. Bolivia, for her part, aided by Peru, overthrew General Sucre, who was imposed on this republic at the same time as the Bolivian Code. On 28th February, 1829, a battle was fought on the plains of Jiron between the Peruvian army, under Lamar, and the Colombian, commanded by Sucre, in which the victory was so undecided as to be claimed by both generals. The Peruvian terminated his despatch with these words : "Peru is for ever freed from the foreign yoke, and the *vizier* of the *dictator* has been obliged to sign an ignominious capitulation". The Colombian general, on his part, after reciting the advantages obtained, ordered a column of jasper to be raised on the field of battle, in order to perpetuate the memory of that important battle. It was necessary to come to terms, and on the 22nd of September peace was signed between Peru and Colombia ; they agreed to fix the boundaries of the two republics, to liquidate the debt of Peru, and lastly, to appeal to a friendly power if disputes arose between them. Peru and Bolivia threw off the control of Bolívar and regained possession of themselves ; the edifice that the liberator had proposed to raise thus falling away on all sides.

It was very difficult for him to retain Colombia under his power, since his conduct in the midst of such grave complications had not been in the opinion of his adversaries the most proper to disperse the injurious suspicions of which he was the object. To get an unlimited power conferred upon him and to aspire to a despotic centralisation was asserted to be his sole and constant object ; and the federalists or republicans, who were his accusers, did not cease to watch him, increasing their strength with the discontented of all classes. They resolved to free themselves once for all from what they called his attempts at absolute rule, and on the night of the 26th of September, 1828, attacked his palace and killed the sentinels, and if he succeeded in escaping the poniards of the conspirators, he owed it to his great courage and calmness. The conspirators had relied on the people and they pronounced not against but in favour of Bolívar, in whom they always saw the legendary hero of emancipation, the liberator. Many were executed and Santander, who was accused of being the mover of the plot, was imprisoned and afterwards exiled.

The enemies of the liberator did not give in for this, since, on one hand, General Córdoba, an old friend of Bolívar, rose in the province of Antioquia and was killed in the midst of his soldiers, and on the other, insurgents rose in Popayan and Rio Negro, and lastly, a much more serious movement broke out on the 25th of November, 1829, in Caracas, the native city of the liberator, where an assembly of a thousand notables, public functionaries and generals agreed that Venezuela should be separated from Colombia and that Paez should take upon himself the provisional dictatorship. The Senate protested in vain against the dismemberment of Colombia. Bolívar, who saw his star waning, employed means and resources such as this great man should never have put his hand to, in order to prevent it; he exhibited himself as exposed to the daggers of the friends of liberty, and reproduced a medal commemorative of the attempt of the 26th of September. In the message that he sent to Congress on the 20th of January, 1830, he again tendered his resignation, so many times offered, bitterly lamenting that the rectitude of his intentions was suspected in the United States, in Europe and in his own country, by supposing him to aspire to mount a throne. Re-elected once more, he proclaimed that the Congress would recur to the most energetic measures to prevent the dismemberment of Colombia, and, in consequence, he started at the head of 8000 men for the province of Maracaybo, where Paez was awaiting him with superior forces and occupying an impregnable position; this obliged Bolívar to pause. Suffering from this disappointment, restless and discouraged, the liberator hesitated as to the part he should take, when the provincial assemblies were called together by the Congress, thinking by this means to avoid the division that they feared. The Congress thought of conferring on Bolívar the presidency of the republic for life, but doubting if he would accept it, negotiations were entered into, at the end of which the liberator sent to the representatives of the nation another message in which he formally declared that his determination to refuse the presidency, in case it were offered him, was irrevocable, and also made known his resolution to quit his country for ever. The new constitution being settled, the Congress on the 4th of May elected Mosquera president of Colombia, offering Bolívar at the same time, in the name of the

Colombian nation, the tribute of their gratitude and admiration and an annual pension of 30,000 pesos payable at the place where he should fix his residence.

The liberator left Bogotá, and the authorities and inhabitants gave signs of the great sorrow that they felt at his departure. On taking leave of his old companions in arms, the emotion of General Urdaneta and his officers was so great that their voices were choked by sobs. The very day of his departure the army raised Urdaneta to power, but he was overthrown by the generals Lopez and Ovando. This was the last effort of the unitarians, defeated by the separatist party, whose triumph was signalled by the recall of Santander, who had been banished the republic for life by Bolívar. A decree of the 10th June reinstated him in *the enjoyment of all his grades and military honours and the exercise of his rights of citizenship*, considering him "as an illustrious victim of despotism". On his arrival at Cartagena, Bolívar learnt what was, for him, sad and painful news, that the separation of Venezuela was an accomplished fact, and that Ecuador, obeying General Flores, had declared itself independent; the Colombian edifice, raised by the liberator at the price of so many sacrifices, thus losing its two lateral supports. The tragical end of General Sucre, the prisoner of Ovando, whom he caused or allowed to be assassinated, completed the affliction in which Bolívar was plunged. Overwhelmed with grief, humiliated in his glory, and deceived in his hopes, he died on the 17th of December, 1830, from a languid sickness, which retained him in San Pedro, near Santa Marta, at the early age of forty-seven years. His political testament, or his farewell to the Colombians, dated seven days before his death, shows us the cruel anguish that embittered his last moments. He died as he had lived, for his country, of which he took leave in the following noteworthy words: "I say with veritable sorrow that I am the victim of my enemies, who have led me to the sepulchre, nevertheless I pardon them.—Colombians, I leave you. In my last moments I pray to God for the tranquillity of Colombia, and if my death, dissipating the animosity of parties and restoring concord among you, can contribute to this much-desired result, I shall carry a feeling of satisfaction to the tomb that opens for me."

This last appeal of the liberator was not heard. The Colombian Republic, created by him, separated over his tomb into three states—Nueva Granada, Ecuador and Venezuela.

Venezuela was formed of the departments or provinces of Venezuela, Zuyla, Maturino and Orinoco; Ecuador of Ecuador, Guayaquil and Azuay; and Nueva Granada, which later was to be converted into the Granadine Confederation, taking the name of United States of Colombia, was composed of the five provinces of Cundinamarca, Istmo, Boyaca, Cauca and Magdalena, to which have been added Antioquia, and the territories of Guajira and Mocoa. The history of the republics of Ecuador and Venezuela requires a separate chapter, and in this we shall continue only that of Nueva Granada or the United States of Colombia.

It was not long before two parties appeared in this republic, and with them the germs of civil war between the liberals or separatists and the partisans of the Union or *Bolivians*. In the first presidential elections, which took place on the 9th of March, 1831, General Francisco de Paula Santander, who had distinguished himself in the War of Independence and been vice-president with Bolívar, was elected. Although it is certain that on taking possession of the presidency on the 8th of October, he called upon the Granadinos, of whatever opinion they had been in the sad days of internal discord, to lay aside their resentments before the altar of the country, since there should be but one party, that of liberty, secured by the institutions to which they had sworn obedience, it is not less so that, instead of following the advice he himself gave, and placing himself above parties, directing all his efforts to establish a sound administration, he was enraged against the partisans of the liberator, and tolerated the assassination of the most illustrious generals. Under the presidency of Santander, nevertheless, the census of the population was taken; it amounted to 1,687,100 inhabitants, a figure which gives us an idea how sparsely peopled the extensive territory of this republic was; the Colombian debt was divided between the three republics that had formed Colombia, a debt which, as we pointed out when speaking of the War of Independence, had been contracted with many English houses in 1822 and 1824; the Holy See officially recognised the republic of

Granada, and treaties were made with Venezuela and Ecuador to determine their respective boundaries. In order to succeed in fixing attention on the Isthmus of Panamá, across which, from the year 1834, it had been proposed to carry a line of railway that would spare navigators the voyage of 1800 leagues which they had to make to double Cape Horn, and thus open direct communication with all the countries washed by the Pacific Ocean, Santander declared Panamá and Puerto Bello free ports for the space of twenty years for all nations not at war with Nueva Granada, prohibiting, nevertheless, the importation of slaves. The railway connecting the two oceans was opened in 1855. A special treaty secured the perpetual and exclusive privilege of transporting her war material by this route to the United States ; and in exchange the Federal Government guaranteed to Colombia her sovereignty over the isthmus against any foreign Government. This treaty was renewed in 1865.

Santander's term of office expired in 1836. He, desiring to secure the presidency for one of his partisans, decidedly favoured the candidature of General Ovando, who, in spite of such powerful support, was defeated by the opposing candidate, Doctor Marquez, a man who, in addition to the great advantage for a democratic republic of belonging to the civil element, relied on the sympathy that his moderation and prudence had gained for him. The defeat of Ovando occasioned divisions between parties and lastly a civil war that lasted three years, from 1839 to 1841, and plunged the country into the greatest disorder, if not into the most complete anarchy. At last Doctor Marquez was able to put down the insurrection. General Herran succeeded him and in his turn was replaced by General Mosquera, and during this period of peace, initiated by Marquez, the condition of the affairs of the republic was greatly improved, especially public education, for which the preference that it deserves from all free people was shown from this time.

The efforts of those who desired to organise the country on a completely federal system triumphed in 1858, and the republic in consequence was transformed into the Granadine Confederation. Doctor Mariano Ospina, elected by the conservative party, laid before Congress many bills tending to preserve the little centralisation that had escaped in the federal break-

down; but the federalists pretended to see in these bills a covert attack on their system and protested in a threatening tone. The State of Santander rejected the resolutions of Congress, that of Cauca did the same and Bolivia and Magdalena did not long delay following their example. Ospina proclaimed martial law in the Confederation and decreed a levy of troops; but his more than original ideas on the subject of government did not permit him to use the force that every legally constituted government should employ against those who ignore its authority and refuse to obey the laws. Could he, in fact, employ similar proceedings after having declared before the national representatives that it was necessary to make a trial of all theories in order that the country might know practically the different systems of government? Thus it is not surprising that, after preparing to reduce the federals to obedience, he should, agreeably to his principles, fold his arms and wait, as he did wait, patiently for the meeting of Congress in 1860. Neither did the Congress show itself very much disposed to defend the central authority by force, and this contributed to embolden the federalist party, which at the commencement of 1861 had made itself master of the coast towns.

On the expiration of the term fixed by law, Ospina resigned the presidency and enlisted as a private soldier in one of the loyal regiments which defended the constitution, thus giving a proof of his greatness of mind and love of his country and the republic, at the same time nobly effacing the errors that he had committed while in power, and which were the result of his singular ideas. The most able and worthy chief of the conservatives, Julio Arboleda, an energetic man, a distinguished orator, and undoubtedly the most eminent poet of Colombia, succeeded him. Arboleda descended from a family, members of which had signalised themselves by very remarkable deeds during the War of Independence. His father, desiring, in spite of the fever which devoured him, to fulfil a mission that Bolívar had entrusted to him, had poisoned himself with arsenic in an attempt to arrest the paroxysms of his malady; his two uncles Caldas and Miguel de Pombo had been shot by the Spaniards in Bogotá; his cousin Ulloa had suffered the same fate; one of his aunts chose rather to die of hunger than to surrender to the

Spaniards, and other relations had fallen on the field of battle. All these deeds, recited by an heroic mother, worthy of Spartan times, had aroused an ardent love of liberty in the heart of her son. His life had been most agitated; when he was elected deputy a revolution broke out that carried him to prison; he escaped and was besieged in his house, and although he succeeded in escaping this danger and in returning at the head of an army, it was only to be defeated and condemned to death. A turn of fortune made him victor; a military *coup d'état* dispersed the Congress; Arboleda presented himself at the head of a victorious army and was elected president of the Senate and was shortly after invested with the presidency of the republic. Arboleda, who did not delude himself, did not expect to enjoy his position for long. "In this proud and valiant nation," he said, on receiving the oath of his friend Mallarino, "it is as easy to pass from exile to power, as from power to the bar of the Senate." Nor was he mistaken, since civil war broke out very soon, his chief adversary being his relation Mosquera, who on the 18th June, 1862, seized Bogotá, after a combat of five hours. The conqueror took the title of provisional president of Nueva Granada, which received the name of the United States of Colombia. The new president, chief of the democratic party, hastened to decree that natural law should be the only code of the republic, proclaimed the separation of Church and State, prohibited the parish priests from exercising their ministry without the authorisation of the civil power and confiscated the property of the convents. Without allowing himself any rest he followed up the struggle against the conservatives, whom he completely routed; and Arboleda, betrayed by his companions in arms, died, assassinated, in the defiles of Berruecos, not far from the place where Sucre had formerly met a similar fate, his lieutenant Leonardo Canal being obliged to surrender before the expiration of the year.

The civil war being ended and all resistance overcome, the Assembly was opened at Rio Negro on the 9th of February, 1863, charged to draw up the new constitution, which was finally voted on the 25th of April. It settled the federal organisation of the republic under the name of the United States of Colombia, by which Nueva Granada has been officially known since that date. General Mosquera remained charged with the

executive power until such time as the first constitutional Congress should meet, when the new president took the oath of fidelity before it. On 1st April, 1864, Mosquera resigned his authority to Doctor Manuel Murillo Toro, after withdrawing his candidature supported by a victorious army, which wished to set aside the constitutional precept prohibiting the re-election of the president who was still exercising his functions, and returned to the head of the democratic party. A young man, aged twenty-two, son of a governor of Bogotá who had been shot by his orders in 1861, fired at him in the middle of the road, and in broad day, with the intention of killing him. He was, nevertheless, the idol of the people, who applauded him in the clubs, where Mosquera censured in burning and passionate language the conduct of France with respect to the Mexican expedition and that of Spain towards Peru. In his words might be discovered the thought that he nursed of again uniting Nueva Granada, Ecuador and Venezuela in one nation under a republican, democratic and federal form, of reconstituting, in a word, the Colombian edifice as in the early days of independence. Formerly propositions of this nature had been made to the President of Ecuador without other result than the rupture of diplomatic relations between the two countries and the breaking out of hostilities, Mosquera defeating the Ecuatorians under the command of the now aged Flores in the battle of Cuaspud (December, 1863).

The stability of the federal government had not been disturbed since the revolution of 1862, notwithstanding that grave disorders had occurred from various motives in the nine confederate states, namely, Antioquia, Bolívar, Boyaca, Cauca, Cundinamarca, Magdalena, Panamá, Santander and Tolima. These states are independent in what concerns their internal government; each has its president, legislature and high court of justice; the municipalities are organised on liberal principles; government offices are open to the public, all, including the magistracy, being subject to popular election. The federal government, which has its seat at Bogotá, is composed of a president, elected by the nation for two years, and a congress elected for the same period, which is divided into a senate of twenty-seven members and a chamber of representatives of sixty-six. The president or head of the executive power cannot be elected twice in succession; he

is aided by four ministers, namely, those of the Interior and Foreign Affairs, of Finance and Public Works, of the Treasury and National Credit, and of War and Marine. The High Court of Justice, elected by the Chambers of the nine states, is composed of three judges and an attorney-general of the nation. Congress alone has authority to declare war, and the Senate confirms the nominations of persons appointed to diplomatic posts. Neither the president nor the ministers have the right to lay a bill before the chambers, but only that of making observations on the bills that Congress sends them for their approval and publication; but if their observations are disregarded, the bill has from that moment the force of law.

The laws voted by the Congress are not always accepted by the States, which has more than once given occasion to both to support their decisions by arms, wasting the strength of the republic in internal discord. When, unfortunately, this occurs, armies are improvised and equipped in a manner as singular as it is surprising, although most often it appears that both have agreed never to come to blows, and they succeed, the quarrel terminating where it should have begun, by an honourable compromise and arrangement. And let it not be thought that the Colombians are wanting in courage, although we say it, for they gave abundant proofs in the War of Independence that they could carry it even to heroism; simply they are beginning to understand that in daily political conflicts they are often led to follow ambitious generals. Hence their lack of enthusiasm, hence those mild struggles that Europeans interestedly exaggerate and call fratricidal, hence those surprising encounters in which we see whole army corps beaten and made prisoners after a fight that has lasted five minutes and has not cost the life of a single man. It is in every way necessary, nevertheless, that the political education of this noble people be completed, which, doubtless, will happen ere long, judging by the progress that has hitherto been made, and which, taking a pattern from the United States of the North, teaches that in a nation freely governed there is no problem that cannot be solved by liberty itself, without ever appealing to arms, to which some generals, as criminal as they are ambitious, show themselves so much addicted. It should not be forgotten that those nations only

are worthy of being free who know how to use, and never abuse, liberty.

Intestine strife has not always assumed the mild character that we have observed, since in some, although in very few, cases it has taken more serious and lamentable proportions. The president Manuel Murillo Toro, one of the chiefs of the ultra liberal party, rose to power animated by the noblest and most honourable intentions ; but he had to overcome almost insuperable difficulties. The sources of public credit were almost exhausted ; the salt works, one of the chief sources of the wealth of the country, were very badly managed and produced nothing, and the property of the clergy, upon which the Government reckoned to pay off the debt, was sold at a low price. Such was the position aggravated by the corruption of public functionaries. And as if all this were not enough, the struggle with the clergy was to raise new and grave difficulties for Murillo. The hostility of the democratic party towards the Court of Rome had gone so far as the confiscation of ecclesiastical property, and had just been energetically condemned by an encyclical of the Pope, which induced Mosquera to lay before Congress a bill which was passed on the 26th of April, 1864, by which every ecclesiastic was obliged to take an oath of fidelity to the constitution, and to obey no bull, decree, ordinance, resolution of official, church, congregation or council resident abroad without previously obtaining express authority from the executive power. Murillo made extraordinary efforts to modify, as far as possible, this law, which was one of the last acts of Congress before separating on the 18th of May of the same year, 1864. In spite of the good intentions of the president, internal tranquillity was not very secure, and the states did not use their authority in an altogether blameless manner. The instability of their Governments went so far as to compromise their relations with foreign powers. Murillo, in his message of the 1st of February, 1865, said that a civil war, "the most disastrous of those registered in our sanguinary annals," being but just terminated, it was absolutely necessary to consolidate the peace and tranquillity which had been re-established. But how was this to be attained ? Fresh disturbances very soon occurred in the city of Buena-ventura and in the provinces of Magdalena, Cauca, Tolima and

Cundinamarca. In Panamá, the most disturbed district of the confederation, a regiment having risen on the 9th of March, carried Doctor Gil Colunje to the presidency of state, after overthrowing General Santa Colonna. Four short months only passed in relative tranquillity since in June the mulatto Correoso, a friend of Mosquera, endeavoured, although without success, to overthrow Doctor Gil Colunje. Panamá, Magdalena and Bolívar, displeased at seeing part of their customs dues going into the hands of the central Government of Bogotá, allowed their desire of separating from the union and constituting themselves an independent republic to appear. Lastly, a conservative movement had been attempted in Cauca by General Joaquin Córdoba. Murillo, who dreaded the return to power of his old opponents, who were supported and encouraged by the clergy, declared the republic in a state of war, put himself at the head of the army, and, not without many combats, defeated and dispersed the rebels.

Mosquera, again recalled to power, succeeded Murillo on the 1st of April, 1864, at the age of seventy-four years. Showing little respect for the constitution which he himself had drawn up, he immediately employed dictatorial measures, refusing to show how he intended to employ the loans that he had raised in England, and, dictating a series of arbitrary measures, he did not pause before the constitutional sovereignty of the federal states, the majority of whose legislatures showed very plainly that they were not inclined to submit to his will. Being short of money, Mosquera resolved, in order to procure it, to seize the church plate of gold and silver used in the celebration of divine worship. The Congress in its session of 1867 annulled as unconstitutional the decrees published without its concurrence. Mosquera called on the people, and, in a military review, made a violent speech to the garrison of Bogotá. The Congress was not intimidated, stood firm and demanded an account of the state of the exchequer; to which demand Mosquera replied by declaring that he took upon himself the discretionary power, and prepared to arrest Doctor Murillo, who had time to take refuge at the French Legation. The Congress gave way at length, voting the bills in the form in which they had been presented, for which Mosquera, to make a boast of this reconciliation, organised a triumphal procession,

leading the deputies through the principal streets of the capital, himself at their head in full uniform, with head erect and covered with ribbons and orders. The *fête* was concluded by a grand banquet. It was not long however before the harmony between the legislative and the executive powers was disturbed, and this decided Mosquera to terminate the conflict by the dissolution of the Congress.

To repress and overcome the agitation that such a decree produced in the republic Mosquera proclaimed martial law in the confederation, and separated Bogotá from the state of Cundinamarca in order to form it into a federal district. Four deputies were about to be shot, when General Acosta, the second vice-president, resolved to attempt a counter-revolution, which was crowned with success, Mosquera being arrested on the night of the 22nd and 23rd of March and sent to prison. Accused of malversation and abuse of power, adjudged guilty of having suppressed the freedom of sale of salt, of having prohibited the circulation of newspapers, and of having sold to Peru the alliance of Colombia, he was deprived of his presidential authority and of his civil rights, and condemned to exile for four years. Mosquera immediately started for Lima ; his partisans submitted and a beneficent calm and tranquillity succeeded the constant agitation of the latter years. The first vice-president, Gutierrez, was elected president and entered on his duties on the 1st of April, 1868, being succeeded by General Salgar.

Colombia, which has passed through more vicissitudes than any other of the South American republics, is fortunately settled now, the elections being conducted with fair order, although, unfortunately, peace has been disturbed in some of the states during the last few years. At the end of 1873, for instance, the turbulent city of Panamá, declared in a state of siege, saw its streets running with blood. The admiral of the United States was obliged to disembark troops to protect the international railway that unites the two oceans. The Grand Hôtel in this city was the scene of a tragic event. The police desiring to arrest Colonel Uscategui, the late commander-in-chief of the national forces, he attempted to escape ; the police fired on him, and wounded at first by a bullet, he immediately fell with another in his

head. Uscategui was the nephew of the president of the republic.

Doctor Murillo Toro, the successor of General Salgar, elected for the period comprised between 1st April, 1872, and 31st March, 1874, was the first civilian who had been elevated to the presidential dignity for the second time, a post unfortunately too frequently reserved for the generals. He immediately turned his attention to the railways, telegraphs and schools, giving an impulse to material improvements and the occupation of the uncultivated lands. It was this president who, in his message in 1873, congratulated the English and American Governments on having given a great example of love of justness by submitting their differences to a tribunal of arbitration. "This precedent," he added, "ought to be considered as an important conquest obtained by law in order to guarantee the peace of the world and the security of nations." He took advantage of the occasion to invite the states of Colombia, so ready to wage war among themselves, to enter upon this pacific path and in future to settle their differences amicably. Murillo Toro, doubtless, was also addressing the neighbouring countries, especially Venezuela, at a time when the interminable question of the frontiers was once again threatening to disturb the good relations existing between the two republics.

At this period, 1873, the republic of Colombia was making visible progress in consequence of the regular working of her institutions; industry and education had attained an enviable state of progress; the large sums due to the United States were paid, the foreign debt had been reduced to 10,000,000 pesos, and the law of the 10th of June, 1872, for the funding of the home debt had produced excellent results. From that time it may be foreseen that in consequence of the prudent and successful reforms introduced into the financial system the budget of expenses and receipts would balance without difficulty at a not distant date. The income amounts annually to more than 3,000,000 pesos (3,993,494 pesos in the year's expenditure of 1872-73), leaving a surplus over expenditure. The commercial movement in 1873 was: imports, 12,515,659 pesos, and exports 10,477,631. The maintenance of peace, the expansion of industry and the opening of new means of communication

facilitating exportation have contributed to augment the customs dues, the country being able with them to provide for the expenses occasioned by the law of the 5th of June, 1871, relating to the occupation of the waste lands.

Congress, by a law passed on the 6th of June, 1874, resolved that two railways, both of great importance for the future of Colombia, should be constructed. We refer to that from Cali to the Pacific, and that which, under the name of the Northern Railway, is to bring the capital of the republic into communication with the important river Magdalena. Facility of communication, one of the greatest needs of modern nations, will inaugurate a new era of prosperity and grandeur for Colombia. The results obtained from the capital invested in the line from Barranquilla, a port on the Magdalena, to Savanilla, a port on the Atlantic (1871), must have vividly impressed the new president, Santiago Perez, who was proclaimed on 1st April, 1874, and the Minister of Finance, Doctor Parra, who energetically supported the law of the 6th of June before Congress. The *Diario oficial* of Bogotá declared at the time that the gravest problem the Granadine Government had to consider and solve was evidently the opening or construction of easy and rapid communications which on one side should unite the valley of Cauca with the Pacific Ocean and on the other approximate the 1,660,000 inhabitants of Cundinamarca, Boyaca, Santander and Antioquia to the navigable waters of the Magdalena. Without easy means of communication the development of the wealth of these table-lands so highly favoured by nature is impossible.

At a not far distant date the line from Cali to Buenaventura on the Pacific will put the interior of Colombia in communication, not only with the Atlantic, but also with the Pacific. The telegraphic system, begun in 1864, covered at the end of 1874 1,600,000 kilometres, putting Bogotá in touch with the principal cities of the republic and with the port of Buenaventura. The approaching laying of the cable or submarine telegraph from Colon and Panamá to Buenaventura will thus permit the inhabitant of the smallest hamlet of the interior of the Andes to place himself immediately in telegraphic communication with all the civilised world.

The struggle that had been kept up between the Catholic

clergy and the civil power was terminated in 1874. A pastoral published by the Archbishop of Bogotá forbade ecclesiastics to interfere with politics. How different would be the fate of the Catholic religion and the respect that its ministers would inspire if this exhortation were heeded by the clergy, not only the American, but that of all countries! At the present time questions of material progress alone have the privilege of fixing the public attention, and the Colombians have not in vain passed through the period of disorder and agitation that we have endeavoured to describe. The effects of the tranquillity that has reigned in men's minds since the year 1865 have been so surprising, from the point of view of the general prosperity, that the customs receipts have doubled in the short period of eight years, from 1865 to 1873. The Congress of 1876, recognising how great a part of the moral and material prosperity that the republic was enjoying was due to the continual efforts, assiduous labour and high morality of the Minister of Finance, Doctor Parra, offered him the presidency of the republic, a post that he occupied with the general applause.

Colombia has a superficies of 1,358,000 square kilometres. It occupies a large part of the north-west of South America, whence it is prolonged towards Central America as far as the State of Costa Rica, forming the Isthmus of Darien or Panamá. Washed on the north by the Caribbean Sea and on the west by the Pacific Ocean, it touches Venezuela on the east, Brazil and Ecuador on the south and Costa Rica on the west. Its population, which in 1810 was only 800,000 inhabitants, amounts at the present time to 3,000,000, of whom 1,200,000 are white, 600,000 civilised Indians or half-breeds, about 8000 negroes and the rest uncivilised Indians. The Colombians are extremely affable, hospitable, courageous and disinterested; and their love of liberty is so intense that they are capable of the most heroic efforts, of the most extraordinary sacrifices, as they have shown, to conquer and preserve what they consider, and not without reason, as the most precious of all riches. They have been obliged to struggle for the space of fifty years to attain the order of things that they enjoy and to overturn the formidable edifice raised by despotism and superstition.

The present political institutions are liberal and philanthropic.

They have abolished the penalty of death, and imprisonment or detention for actual crime never exceeds ten years; the organisation of their penitentiary establishments permits of the moral and material instruction of the prisoners, instead of corrupting them and hardening them in vice as happens in the majority of the European states. Titles of nobility and distinctions that are not based on merit are recognised by no one. Industry is free from all trammels or impediments. The right of public meeting is unlimited and the press is really free. Slavery is abolished and is not tolerated under any form or pretext. The convents are suppressed and the state has taken their property. Education is secular, and although there exists what we might call official education or that protected by the Government, it is gratuitous. Passports are abolished. There is no standing army, since the 1200 or 1500 men appointed to guard the parks of artillery, which, in case of necessity, may serve as a nucleus or base for the formation of a respectable force, scarcely deserve the name; but, on the other hand, all men who are physically capable are considered as soldiers of the country and have the duty of defending it as well as maintaining public order. Recruiting is prohibited by the constitution, which permits only voluntary enlistment or any other means that are not opposed to the guarantees that this gives.

Colombia is a magnificent country, remarkably well situated for the commerce of both hemispheres. Its capital, Bogotá, situated on the left bank of the river of the same name, is a city as beautiful as it is spacious, whose squares are all adorned with fountains; there are 60,000 inhabitants, and it has, besides magnificent houses and five very fine bridges, a remarkable cathedral, an astronomical observatory, the most elevated in existence, and the first that was erected in the intertropical regions, a museum of natural history, a school of medicine, a botanical garden, a library of more than 15,000 volumes, an academy, three colleges for men and one for women, a seminary, four hospitals, twenty-seven churches and a Protestant place of worship, a theatre, a mint, and the new house of Congress built in 1871. In the immediate neighbourhood of Bogotá there is a natural phenomenon worthy of notice, namely, the valley of Icononzo or Pandi bordered by rocks of extraordinary forms,

which appear as if cut out by the hand of man. Their naked and arid summits offer the most picturesque contrast to the clumps of trees and herbaceous plants that cover the borders of the glen. The small torrent that has opened for itself a passage through the valley of Icononzo bears the name of *Rio de la Suma Paz*; it is confined in an almost inaccessible bed, and it would not be easy to cross it if nature had not formed two bridges of rocks, which are the admiration of all who have had the good fortune to see them.

The State of Cundinamarca, whose capital is that of Nueva Granada, Bogotá, is, among the states forming the republic, that which most abounds in gold. Near the village of Muzo is one of the richest emerald mines known; these emeralds without any reason are called *Peruvian emeralds* and under this name are sent to all parts of the world. Cartagena, the chief fortress of Colombia, is the ordinary station of the squadron; the trade of this city is considerable, especially in all kinds of metals. Cartagena, with its wide and straight, but sombre streets, its extensive galleries supported by low, heavy columns and the flat roofs that project over the fronts of the houses, has something of the aspect and gloom of the cloister. The inhabitants, flying from the excessive heat and sickness that prevail during the summer, take refuge in Turbaco, an Indian town situated in the interior of the country, and noted for the curious phenomenon known as the *Volcancitos*. Panamá, which was declared a free port in 1849, is the capital of the state of this name which includes all the isthmus and numbers 176,000 inhabitants. The Assembly of Panamá in 1873 passed a law establishing a neutral zone across the isthmus in order to protect commerce, freeing it from all local impediments proceeding from civil war or other causes. A want of hands has been felt in the burning climate of this region, whose prosperity is increasing every year since the construction of the interoceanic line of railway, which centralises in its port all the commerce of the Pacific. The introduction of Chinese which has been attempted on several occasions has always been a failure. Struck down by the fevers these unfortunate men die by hundreds, and if they escape these they succumb to despair or *nostalgia*, not being able to support the labour imposed on them in this deadly climate. Hitherto the

various projects proposed for the opening through the isthmus of a ship-canal have given no definite results. These projects are numerous; the most important and worthy of attention, as being most practicable, are that proposed by Antonio Galvao in 1528, which even now counts most partisans, and that of Mr. Kennish, the head of a body of engineers sent by Mr. Kelley of New York. If the opening of the canal announced so many times should be realised, whatever part of the isthmus it may cross, it cannot fail to be recognised that when this happens Colombia will become a rich and powerful nation in a short time.

We cannot conclude without noting that on travelling over Nueva Granada the conviction is acquired that it possesses all the elements necessary to reach a high degree of prosperity; a great extent of coast on both oceans, large navigable rivers and many others not navigable; a generally healthy climate; a fertile soil in which according to its elevation, all kinds of vegetation grow spontaneously or can be cultivated. Cacao, indigo, cotton, vanilla, tobacco and sugar are gathered in abundance; the woods most desired for cabinet work, and even dye-woods, balsams, resins and caoutchouc, abound in its virgin forests, on its shores are gathered mother-of-pearl, pearls and shells. The majestic Cordillera of the Andes ramifies over its territory giving us beautiful valleys, and, in addition, the various riches of its mountains; gold, platina, silver, lead, iron, copper, porphyry, marble, grindstones, coal, salt and precious stones. Its admirable geographical position which allows direct communication with the North, its resources of all kinds, its free institutions, the activity and other qualities of its inhabitants, show, we repeat, that Colombia is called to fill at no distant date one of the first positions among the nations of South America.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE UNITED STATES OF VENEZUELA.

THE republic of Nueva Granada showed that it had acted with the greatest prudence by refraining from employing force to retain Venezuela in the union, a thing which Bolívar himself had not been able to do. Venezuela is not a country that can be easily subjugated, and much less retained by him who should be able to succeed in doing so, both on account of its territory of double the extent of its old mother country Spain, and its restless population, composed of heterogeneous elements, descendants of the Spaniards, civilised and uncivilised Indians, negroes, mulattoes, *mestizos* and *zambos*. This population, scattered along the coasts, on the table-land of the Venezuela-Granadino chain at an altitude of 600 or 700 metres, wandering over immense plains whose bounds are imperceptible to the eye, on the banks of the rivers and even of the numerous lakes that are met with, did not exceed 1,000,000 inhabitants; although now, according to the census of 1873 it amounts to 1,784,194. To people only one of the states forming part of this republic, Nueva Andalucía for example, it has been calculated that at least twenty years of peace and a European emigration of 200,000 agriculturists would be necessary.

Venezuela had and has well-defined limits, which were those of the old captaincy-general of Caracas, formed by the four departments of Zulia, Orinoco, Venezuela and Maturín. On the north the Caribbean Sea, west and south-west Nueva Granada, east the Atlantic Ocean, south-east British Guyana and south Brazil. The extent of its vast territory is 1,044,443 square kilometres.

Bolívar did not close his eyes before he saw the triumph of Paez, his comrade in the War of Independence. Paez was the  
(140)

first president of the republic of Venezuela, elected in 1831, after the proclamation of its eminently democratic constitution, whose chief bases are: A government formed by three powers, the legislative, the executive and the judicial, all acknowledging their source in the sovereignty of the people. The inhabitants of each parochial district, being of the full age of twenty-one years, who have property, trade, etc., which produces a certain stated income, meet every two years on the 1st of August, for eight days, under the presidency of the district judge, aided by four councillors, and appoint the electors of the canton, who must be of the full age of twenty-five years and possess an income of 1200 pesetas. These meet every two years also, on the 1st of October, and elect the president and vice-president of the republic, the deputies and senators, and the provincial deputies. These latter propose three candidates for the choice of the president, that he may appoint one of them as governor of the province, and the candidates for the magistracy to the High Court of Justice, denouncing the abuses of the governors, etc., to the executive power. These deputations meet alternately every two years. The legislative and executive authorities have almost the same powers as in the other states. The Chambers, Congress and Senate, are renewed by halves every two years. The president is assisted in his duties by a sort of Council of State composed of the vice-president of the republic, of a member of the High Court of Justice named by that body, of four councillors elected by the Chambers and of the three ministers. The late chief of the *llaneros* very soon made an end of the last partisans of Colombian unity, whose principal chiefs submitted on condition of preserving their military rank. Paez immediately showed, by prescribing certain economies, that he was animated by sentiments of true moderation and also that he did not lack administrative ability. The duties on imports and exports were modified in a liberal direction; certain privileges of a decidedly monarchical character, which Bolívar had too easily granted to the clergy and the army were abolished, and the equality of all citizens in the eye of the law was proclaimed. He revived agriculture and industry by really protective laws and, lastly, he set on foot negotiations with Spain for the recognition of the republic, which

did not take place until 1845. Slavery was abolished in 1834.

The presidential authority conferred upon Paez expired in February, 1835 ; he transmitted it to Doctor D. José Vargas, and retired afterwards to his estates. It is right to confess that he left the country in a state of relative prosperity. By electing a civilian for its new president, the republic set an example which, unfortunately, it did not follow. Vargas, a jurisconsult who had made the law his chief study, could only govern by the law ; it was necessary that the military men should submit to play the honourable, although secondary, part of executors of the law, and should sheath their swords, until they should be called upon to compel obedience to it, if any one made resistance. The army, or rather militarism, that curse of modern societies and the cause of the greater part of the misfortunes that have fallen upon our country, felt its influence waning, and on this account its chiefs organised a conspiracy. On the 8th of July a dozen generals seized the president in his residence at Caracas and demanded his resignation. Vargas, with manly firmness, refused to give it, and was put on board ship with the vice-president and sent to the Danish island of St. Thomas. On receiving news of these deplorable events, Paez left his retirement, raised a body of troops and marched on Caracas. He addressed a proclamation to the people and the army in which he said : "While I was head of the state I caused the constitution of 1830 to be respected and executed ; in 1831 I renewed, as president, the oath to respect it ; my duty commands me to defend this compact, although it be with danger to my life". Paez, with the support of the people, made himself master of the capital before the end of the month, and Vargas, who was immediately recalled, entered again upon the exercise of his functions. The revolted military men, however, did not give in, and the struggle continued in the province of Cumaná until the beginning of the following year, 1836.

Paez was called to succeed Vargas in 1839, and in 1842 Soublette replaced him in the presidentship. This was a period of tranquillity in the history of Venezuela. When, in 1846, the war between the men of colour and the creoles broke out, Paez was invested with the powers and title of dictator. The struggle

being terminated and a president having to be elected, public opinion almost unanimously designated Paez himself ; but he, displeasing the people, supported the candidature of General Monagas, who triumphed and entered on the presidency in January, 1847 ; but his conduct soon gave reason for the former to repent supporting him. In fact, Monagas, having the majority of the Congress which met in 1848 against him, according to some acquiesced in, and according to others more worthy of credit was promoter of the crime committed against the national representatives, the soldiery invading the hall of sessions, killing some deputies and dispersing the rest. Paez then took up arms against Monagas to avenge the crime of treason against the sovereignty of the nation, but, being ill supported and declared a rebel and an outlaw by the Chamber and the Government, after taking Coro, was defeated in August, 1849, by General Silva, to whom he surrendered with his two sons. He was taken to Caracas, where he was a prisoner until May, 1850, when, having recovered his liberty through the energy of Senator Rendon, he took refuge in New York.

In the new presidential elections Gregorio Monagas, brother of the president who was to be replaced, Senator Rendon and Vice-president Guzman stood as candidates. None of them obtained the majority required by the constitution, that is, two-thirds of the number of votes, for which reason the new president had to be appointed by Congress. As the Congress had been elected under the pressure of Tadeo Monagas, after the dispersion of the former it was not difficult to foresee that the election would fall on the brother of Tadeo. The Chamber in fact supported the usurpation of the Monagas who, cleverly alternating in the presidency, held power until 1858. On the 15th of March of this year a revolution put an end to the domination of this family, with whom fell the federalist party to which the Monagas had been affiliated.

A provisional Government, of which General Julian Castro was appointed president, granted an amnesty to the exiles. After many doubts Paez returned to his country, but the conservative party being defeated in its contest with the democrats, he, not wishing to serve as a pretext for civil war, again went into exile in June, 1859. On the day following the fall of the Monagas the

conservatives had restored the old constitution, although they introduced some reforms into it in a liberal direction. Castro had already published the new political code of the republic ratified in Valencia by a constituent assembly. Neither the liberals nor the democrats could say, nor did they say, that they were satisfied, and thus in order to withdraw from the old oligarchical party of Venezuela, the conservatives, they hoisted the banner of federalism. Several provinces responded to their call. Castro resigned power in order to break with his political friends, but afterwards recovered the presidency, appointed liberal ministers and published a federalist programme. This clever manœuvre, nevertheless, did not have the success that he expected. Deserted by every one at the moment when the two rival parties were coming to blows in Caracas, he was arrested, then set at liberty, and finally disappeared. The conservatives, sole masters of the field, placed Doctor Pedro Gual the vice-president at their head, who caused Castro to be tried as a traitor, and afterwards pardoned him. Gual suppressed the insurgent movements, discovered the new attempts of the Monagas and re-established public tranquillity. Manuel Felipe de Tovar being elected president received the republic in a fairly satisfactory condition from the vice-president, but the federalists did not give up the contest on this account. Tovar adopted measures against them whose results were not very successful. All eyes were again turned towards Paez. The old general who had been accredited to the United States as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary in October, 1860, was recalled. In March, 1861, he was in Caracas. Tovar gave him the command of the army; but as he attempted to limit his authority Paez tendered his resignation. This withdrawal caused so much excitement that Tovar was obliged to abdicate on the 8th of May. Gual again took the direction of affairs and restored Paez to his position, investing him with full powers. Fresh differences or dissensions arose between Paez and Gual himself, who openly favoured the liberal party, and Paez gave in his resignation for the second time. On the 27th of August, a colonel named Echezuria, hitherto unknown, being ambitious of becoming a general, put himself at the head of the garrison of Caracas, marched to the Government House, made prisoners Doctor Gual and the ministers and proclaimed the dictatorship of Paez. Sprung from the divisions between the

conservatives, whose four sections were fighting among themselves, this dictatorship represented nothing more than a complication in the endless dispute between the unitarians and the federalists. Paez soon found himself powerless to put down the federalist movement by force of arms, and its chief promoter, General Juan José Falcon, assumed the position of head of the Government in the provinces occupied by him. This want of power was shown in the negotiations that he found it necessary to set on foot with Falcon.

On the other hand, the illustrious leader in the War of Independence was getting old and worn out, and really left the exercise of power to one of the men who surrounded him, who made use of the prestige attached to his past life to govern according to his own views and passions, and who did not fear to compromise his reputation in low and underhand intrigues. His friend Rojas governed, worked and spoke in his place. He was the all-powerful man of the situation. Paez had appointed him Minister of the Interior at the same time that the ambitious Colonel Echezuria received the portfolio of war. Rojas returned to despotism, multiplying the most arbitrary and vexatious measures. This system, decorated as usual with the title of conservative, caused Paez to lose his prestige, and produced results entirely different from those that were expected. Maracaibo separated from Caracas, 20th August, 1862, and formed itself into a free state. Soon the federalists were almost the sole masters everywhere. Paez, without financial resources on which to lay his hand, had only precarious forces at his disposal, and besides being precarious they were not very reliable. Is a proof of this desired? Echezuria, the Minister of War and Marine, the same who had proclaimed Paez, actually conspired against him, for which he was imprisoned. Generals Rubio and Michelena, appointed to oppose Falcon, went over to his side. Other personages on whom he counted for the performance of various duties, refused their support on account of Rojas, who was the object of general censure. And as if this critical state of things were not enough, diplomatic relations with Spain were broken off in consequence of the insulting words of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the chargé d'affaires of that country. While this was taking place, Falcon defeated the Government troops.

In the month of April, 1863, the confusion had reached its height ; the western provinces proclaimed federation at the same time that armed parties overran and raised the eastern provinces. The capital found itself, so to say, blockaded by the insurrection. On the 23rd of April, Paez was obliged to treat with the federalists ; on the 22nd of May it was stipulated that the supreme administration of the state should be confided to a committee to which each province should send four members, half appointed by Paez and half by Falcon. This committee met in Victoria, the capital of the province of Aragua, 15th June ; the two rival chiefs resigned their authority the following morning to the committee, which appointed Generals Juan Falcon and Guzman Blanco, provisionally, president and vice-president. The last had powerfully contributed to the triumph of the federalists. The revolution was terminated without effusion of blood ; nevertheless peace was not assured. The unitarian generals, Martinez and Cárdenas, shut up in Puerto Cabello, formed a provisional Government, at the head of which was General Cordero. Falcon entered Caracas on the 26th of June amidst popular demonstrations, introducing the vice-president into the new Cabinet as Minister of Foreign Affairs and Finance.

The elections for the Constituent Assembly, charged to re-organise once more the republic of Venezuela, were to take place on the 11th of October. In the meantime the chief of the new Federation, making use of his dictatorial powers, appointed a Council of State and sent governors of his own choice to the provinces. On the 18th of August he published a Declaration of Rights, granting every kind of liberty to the Venezuelans and abolishing capital punishment. Unfortunately it was difficult to make head against financial difficulties, and already a loan was spoken of. As Paez had by his side a councillor who was the real dictator, so also had Falcon close to him a man disposed to dominate ; General Blanco seemed to wish to figure as a second Rojas, and it was even suspected that a certain understanding existed between these two persons, by whom peace had been negotiated. Rojas, on his fall, had got himself appointed a general, notwithstanding that he had never served in the army, and it was supposed that he was negotiating the means of returning.

On 24th December the Constituent Assembly, which was elected on the 11th of October, met at Caracas. In his message Falcon declared that he had no prisoner nor exile, that the sentiment of generosity had dictated his actions, and that the fullest guarantees were secured to all the citizens. He afterwards gave up to the representatives of the nation the dictatorial authority with which he had been invested. Falcon, the mover of "the great crusade of liberty," was requested "to continue to carry on the general government of the federation as President of the United States of Venezuela," and afterwards the honorary title of "*gran ciudadano general*" was given to him. The powers of Guzman Blanco were also ratified, and he was elected president of the Chamber.

The constitution of the United States of Venezuela was promulgated on the 22nd of April, 1864. It rests upon completely democratic principles ; the sovereign power belongs to the Congress. The president has no right to vote in legislative affairs. The republic forms a confederation composed of twenty independent states : Apure, Aragua, Barcelona, Bariñas, or Variñas, Barquisimeto, Carabobo, Caracas (Bolívar or Libertador), Cojedes, Coro, Cumaná, Guarico, Guyana, Maracaibo, Maturin, Mérida, Margarita (Nueva Esparta), Portuguesa, Tachira, Trujillo, and Yaracuy. Each state has an independent, democratic, elective, representative and responsible government. The legislative authority of the confederation is exercised by a Senate, which is renewed by halves every two years, and by a Chamber of Representatives, which is entirely renewed on the expiration of the new period. The office of minister is incompatible with that of deputy. The Chambers meet in Caracas on the 20th of February in each year, by their own right and without being previously summoned, and their union forms the Congress. The legislative power decrees the contingent of the army, declares war, demands from the executive authority the settlement of peace, and approves or rejects diplomatic conventions. The executive power is vested in a president elected for four years by the federal states. The president governs the country, chooses the ministers and appoints the diplomatic officers. In case of war he has the power to demand the anticipation of the taxes, and to suspend all personal guarantees given by the

constitution except that of life. Equally with the vice-presidents and ministers he is responsible to the Chambers. A High Court of Justice, composed of five members, each of whom is elected by a group of four states, is entrusted with decisions on diplomatic crimes, questions of rivalry between the authorities, and conflicts between state and state. The public forces are composed in the first place of the civic militia of the states, secondly of an army recruited by volunteers, and a contingent furnished by each state in proportion to its population. The penalty of death is abolished, slavery suppressed, and negroes as well as half-breeds are admitted to all public offices. The constitution recognises the absolute liberty of the press, the right of public meeting and association, the freedom of education and religious liberty, with the following inexplicable restriction : that the Catholic religion shall be the only religion publicly exercised in the churches. Public instruction is gratuitous and obligatory. No accused person can be imprisoned without a previous summary investigation that proves his guilt. All citizens born in the territory of the republic are considered Venezuelan subjects, including the children of foreigners. A similar mode of deciding the question of nationality is common to the legislation of many South American states. From this complications may arise with foreign nations, and so much the more as in practice immigrants to Venezuela enjoy the rights of Venezuelans by the sole fact of their arrival in the country.

The legislative authority was commissioned to draw up a uniform code of laws applicable to the whole confederation ; and also to select an uninhabited district in order to form the federal district and build the definitive capital of the union.

The bad state of the finances engaged the attention of the new Assembly from the commencement. It was truly alarming. In 1862, in spite of civil war, the general commerce with the European nations reached an amount relatively important, the greater part of which consisted of imports from those countries. The revenue, which proceeded almost exclusively from the product of the customs, was greater than that of Nueva Granada, although the population of the latter was more numerous ; in 1864 it exceeded it by more than 6,000,000 pesos. The expenditure laid down in the budget amounted to only 4,000,000

pesos. Unfortunately this budget was burdened with mortgages in favour of various creditors, which absorbed a large part of it, and no fresh duties could be imposed, augmenting those already created in 1862 and 1863, without destroying commerce.

Under these circumstances the Chamber decided, on the 14th January, 1864, to vote a loan of 3,000,000 pounds sterling, which Guzman Blanco was commissioned to negotiate in Europe.

Those who suppose that these new-born American republics lose or neglect, in the midst of their continual disturbances, the means of ameliorating their financial position are much mistaken. In that same year, 1863, which was so much disturbed, two lines of steamers were inaugurated—one between La Guayra and Ciudad-Bolívar, calling at the Island of Margarita, Barcelona, Carupano, Cumaná and Trinidad, and the other by the river Aroa ; a contract entered into between La Guayra and Santo Tomás extended the line of navigation to Puerto Cabello, where the foundations of a lighthouse had been laid ; the construction of the eastern railway was actively prosecuted ; the works for lighting the capital by gas were terminated, and a school of engineers and another of arts and trades were established in Caracas. In the previous year Venezuela made a successful figure at the London Exhibition immediately after Brazil. Notwithstanding, we are far from asserting that political agitation has not exercised a pernicious influence. Industry and agriculture have especially suffered in this province, continually agitated by civil war. One important enterprise only prospered, namely, the gold mines of Yuruari, discovered in 1849 and actively worked since 1858. Falcon had left Caracas while the constitution was under discussion, leaving the direction of affairs to his second, General Paredes. He did not return until April, 1864, to close the legislative session, and watch more closely the incidents of the Spanish-American war, which had just broken out. Lima begged for the support of the American states, and, notwithstanding the crisis that the republic was passing through, it answered that the government of Venezuela would not break “the common bond that united her with the other republics of the American continent, if they were obliged to defend themselves for the preservation of their autonomy and institutions”. In consequence, Venezuela had a

representative in the conferences that took place in Lima at the end of 1864.

Falcon formed a new Cabinet, created a ministry of Public Credit, of which Alvarez Lugo was the first minister, and reduced the effective strength of the army to 2800 men. This being done, and the two vice-presidents being absent, he handed the reins of government to General Trias, one of the ministers, and retired to Coro. It is difficult to understand the desertion of authority at such moments. There was a dispute with Spain; the Conservatives were in motion and two federal states were endeavouring to throw off their dependence on the central power. In the month of August the Governors of Aragua and Apure were defeated; General Sotero, the Governor of Guarico, rebelled against Caracas and had some imitators; General Arismendi, chief of the custom house of Ciudad-Bolívar, raised a body of troops and placed some small vessels at the small mouth of the Orinoco, and in the capital, unseasonable measures with respect to the price of bread excited the people, who were irritated against foreigners by the events in Peru, and provoked some riots. The president, leaving his retirement, was able with great difficulty to get together 1000 men, whose maintenance he could not secure. The treasury was empty, and exchange on London was at a discount. The financial mission entrusted to Blanco had not produced the results that were expected, and credit was so low that a merchant demanded payment in coin before delivering a parcel of swords. In this critical situation the elections, which should take place according to law on the 21st of October, 1864, were suspended, and Falcon thought that he might enter into negotiations with the State of Guyana. The State of Guarico was reduced by force, but that of Maracaibo maintained its independence. Blanco, on his return from Europe, took (6th November, 1864) the government that Falcon, who was engaged against the rebels, left to him. A loyal ministry was formed, which procured some resources for the treasury by various extemporized measures, and proceeded to the elections. Falcon, re-elected president, was proclaimed by Congress on the 18th of March, 1865, a month after the opening of the new Chambers; but not caring, doubtless, to risk his popularity in inextricable difficulties, he left Blanco to face the storm

in his place, gave the command of the army to Trias, and retired to his quiet residence of Coro. His re-election affirmed the definitive triumph of federalism. Paez saw that his part was played out. Going into voluntary exile he again took the road to the United States ; but, the sport of adverse winds, he found himself in a foreign land. He died in New York in 1873, at the age of eighty-three years. A few months later, in 1874, Rojas died in France, where he had retired.

The country would have found peace if the conquerors had not become disunited after repulsing the common enemy. On the day following the electoral contest grave disorders broke out. In Barcelona, General Carvajal, after defeating the president of the state, attempted to set up the old Tadeo Monagas, who was more than eighty years old, as chief. In Maracaibo, Venancio Pulgar rebelled, was defeated, and owed his safety to the speed of his horse. Falcon took the direction of affairs in July, 1865, but his presence in Caracas in no way changed the situation. In November the State of Apure expelled its president, and the insurgents assassinated the captain and crew of the American ship ordered to watch the banks of the river that gives its name to this province. And as if these complications were not sufficient, Chili, at war with Spain, demanded the assistance of the republic. On 2nd March, 1866, Guzman Blanco, in the absence of Falcon, opened the legislative session ; his message made evident the absolute want of funds in the federation. The Chambers ordered the ministers to present their respective accounts within twenty-four hours. The Minister of Finance, Landaeta, alone presented his. The penury, he said, was so great, that he had not had sufficient money to pay for the printing of those of his colleagues. Landaeta pointed out that bankruptcy was imminent, and declared that smuggling, favoured by officials of all ranks, exhausted the resources. The hostile attitude of the Chambers recalled Falcon to Caracas. He wished to watch more closely the elections for the vice-presidency. His two candidates, Generals Marquez and Colina, obtained it, and in the formation of the Cabinet his brother-in-law, General Pachano, obtained the highest post. He even obtained a vote of confidence from the Chambers. At last he succeeded in calming the popular excitement resulting from

the bombardment of Valparaíso. Falcon dreaded a war with Spain, because the Venezuelan coasts were more exposed to attacks from the Spanish squadron than those of Chili and Peru. The Chambers gave him full liberty to maintain peace or break with Madrid. The presidential authority was on a very precarious foundation. At the end of June the insurrection extended to the west. A campaign of three months, directed by Falcon in person, ended by a compact ; 1,000,000 duros, distributed among the insurgents, was the price of peace. In the bad condition of the finances this was a terrible blow for the already weakened popularity of the Government. The capital was very excited. The provisional Government, to which the president had delegated his powers on leaving Caracas, had suspended treasury payments. Blanco, the representative of the republic in Paris and London, criticised this measure, which was revoked, the majority of ministers immediately resigning. The anarchy was complete. Colina, who commanded a small army near Caracas, hastened to take charge of affairs, and persuaded the ministers who had resigned to resume their respective portfolios. In the meantime Falcon, as he had formerly done, shook off the duties of his position and remained at a distance from Caracas. He did not appear to be disquieted either by the disturbances in Barcelona or the attacks on Maracaibo, at one time by the emigrants who had returned to the national territory, at another by the Conservatives. Many provinces had shown themselves ready to break the federal compact completely. The Congress, alarmed at this, before separating, conferred almost unlimited power upon the president. This happened in June, 1867. In October an insurrection broke out in the State of Caracas itself, which was put down by Falcon after a short struggle ; but the year 1868 was extremely threatening. Only La Guayra and Puerto Cabello paid into the national treasury the product of their custom houses with any regularity ; while the other states appropriated to their own use the proceeds of the custom houses situated in their territories. The republic could not satisfy its creditors, and its penury had reached its limit. Under such circumstances Falcon fell.

The Unitarian party, which was vanquished in 1863, conquered in 1868, led by J. R. Monagas, who was raised to the

presidency, although he was soon after ejected. Monagas died in November. In December, Pulgar was elected provisional president. The year 1869 was very agitated. On 27th April, 1870, Guzman Blanco, becoming master of Caracas after three days' fighting, proclaimed himself "general-in-chief of the constitutional army of the Confederation". On the 13th of July he obtained extraordinary powers, and the title of provisional president of the republic from a Congress which met in Valencia. This provisional Government lasted until the 20th of February, 1873, when he was finally elected. In this interval he had to overcome a formidable insurrection, led by General Salazar, the second designate. The struggle had been very sharp in the eastern districts, where many strong places, which it was necessary to take by assault, were held by the rebels. The defeat of Salazar, who was taken prisoner and shot in June, 1872, secured the triumph of Blanco, and put an end for a short time to the civil war.

On the 1st of March, 1873, the president, addressing the Congress of the United States of Venezuela, assembled for the first time in the new palace in Caracas, said that if a new war did not again disturb the country, and arrest it on the path of progress, in a few years it would reach a high degree of prosperity. That during his dictatorship no new debt had been contracted, and that the financial position was in his opinion exceptionally favourable. The president proposed to submit to Congress a new civil code, a penal code, a commercial code, one of finance and a military code. He concluded by demanding an important modification of the constitution, namely, that the constitutional term of office of the president and officials should be reduced from four to two years. This measure would, in his opinion, offer a guarantee of liberty and put an end to revolutions, because, instead of overthrowing the established Government by force of arms, it would be found more prudent to wait for the termination of so short a period. In case his proposition should be adopted, he renounced the third and fourth years of the period for which he had been elected; he was happy, he added, to give his country this proof of abnegation and to show how far removed he was from personal ambition. This proposition was not accepted by the legislators of Caracas.

The Government has laboured with no less activity in the development of all the important material enterprises, and of public instruction. Its decrees on the subject of emigration have produced good results; thousands of colonists have left France, as well as Spain and Germany, to carry to Venezuela the co-operation of their strength and intelligence. Its position, its climate, and the fertility of the soil all contribute to make Venezuela a country admirably suited for colonisation. It is much to be desired that civil war should cease to be permanent, but it appears that no year can terminate in peace. Even at the end of 1874 some of those battles in which almost always both sides claim the victory have been seen; battles not very sanguinary, in truth, and which, it must be admitted, do not at all resemble those terrible encounters that stain with blood the streets of European capitals, when the people thinks it must exact by force the rights and liberties that its tyrants usurp.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE REPUBLIC OF ECUADOR.

THE territory of Ecuador, which owes its name to the Equator which traverses it on the north, extends from east to west between Brazil and the Pacific Ocean. Bounded on the north by the United States of Colombia, and on the south by Peru, it forms one of the richest and most beautiful countries of the world. Gigantic mountains and the most elevated volcanoes of the globe rise in its centre; beyond are seen vast table lands, and the most admirable equatorial vegetation grows on the immense plains along the sea coasts. There, as in so many other countries of South America, Nature surpasses the hopes of man, without his being able to respond to her liberality. In a space of nearly 650,000 square kilometres there lives a population reckoned at 1,300,000 inhabitants; these figures include 200,000 uncivilised Indians. The census of 1871 gives the following data: Whites, 351,672; Quixos Indians, 274,440; Indians of the East, 135,000; Negroes, 7831; Mestizos, 31,057—total, 800,000, not including the uncivilised Indians.

So small a contingent is not sufficient for the prosperity of an extensive territory where the means of communication are so imperfect. A fertile land lavishes its treasures in vain if hands are wanting to gather them, and the difficulties of transport are added to this insufficiency. The mountains and virgin forests hold in store immense riches in their depths, the working of the mines is abandoned, and agriculture is completely neglected. A vast number of valuable trees offer, some the tribute of their succulent fruits, others their wood, desirable for building and cabinet-making; here rise the cotton tree, the ebony, the cedar and the Peruvian bark tree, whose majestic trunks are enlaced with the savoury granadilla or the perfumed

vanilla ; there the cinnamon tree, the indiarubber tree, the plants which yield spices and scents, medicinal balsams, resins, gums and lacs, mixed with the tobacco, tamarind and laurel ; the hollows in the trees are filled with clusters of honeycomb, and at their feet often grow nutritive tubers and roots. All this wealth is the spontaneous product of the soil ; the vegetable kingdom grows and fructifies without the aid of labour. It seems as if man is ignorant of or disdains these gifts of Nature.

The population of Ecuador is grouped, for the most part, high up on the elevated table-lands of the province of Quito. The city of this name, the residence of the last Incas and the capital of the republic, has 80,000 inhabitants, and is situated above 3000 metres above the level of the sea. Stuck, so to say, on the side of a mountain, between the two craters of Pichincha, which exhibits a column of smoke on its summit, sometimes broken by a slight eruption, it overlooks the streams and great springs of the two slopes which descend to the Pacific and the Atlantic. This city, so rich in historical memories, is a dull and backward town from the point of view of civilisation ; its chief festivals are the interminable processions that traverse the steep streets and in which all the women of the city take part. Some religious buildings in the Moorish style mark the passage of the Spanish invasion in the country. It possesses, besides, a beautiful observatory, the first that has been erected on the line dividing the two hemispheres ; a public library and a normal school, its famous university, and manufactures of cotton, linen, and flannel. Quito reckons among her sons distinguished painters, among whom is mentioned a half-breed named Santiago, who was eminent in the seventeenth century ; wood-carving is carried on by some Indians and half-breeds, great makers of images of the Virgin and of Christ. Its inhabitants are distinguished for their nobility of type, the variety of their dress and the innate good taste which, even in the lowest classes, is shown in the cut of their garments and the harmonious and picturesque combination of colours ; nowhere, perhaps not in the more gifted races, is artistic feeling carried to such a height.

After Quito, Guayaquil, a town of some 26,000 inhabitants, is the most important of the republic ; its port monopolises the industry of the hats called Panamá hats, the fabrication of which

is a specialty of Ecuador ; the best being made in the town of Monte Cristo, of the leaf named toquilla. Cuenca, the capital of the province of Azuay and the third city of the state, has 30,000 inhabitants ; it carries on an important trade in grain, has several sugar refineries and a cotton mill. In its neighbourhood traces of the great causeway of the Incas may be distinguished.

On the dissolution of the republic of Colombia, in 1831, Ecuador included the three departments of Ecuador, Guayaquil, and Azuay. The new republic was divided into seven provinces, which later were increased to twelve : Pichincha or Quito, Imbabura, Chimborazo, Leon, Esmeraldas, Guayaquil, Manabi, Azuay, Loja, Tienguregua, Los Rios and Oriente, forming the three departments of Pichincha, Guayas, and Azuay ; more commonly designated by the names of their capitals—Quito, Guayaquil, and Cuenca.

Of the three republics formed on the breaking-up of the old republic of Colombia, Ecuador alone was free from the quarrel which took place between Federalists and Unitarians ; but, on the other hand, Conservatives and Democrats alternately disputed for power. According to the constitution of 1843, which has been modified several times and especially in 1869, the executive authority is vested in a president, who, elected at first for four years, is at present elected for six. The president is re-eligible only after the conclusion of the succeeding presidential term. His authority is limited ; he cannot dissolve nor prolong the Congress. He is assisted by a Council of Administration, composed of the ministers, the president of the High Court of Justice, and a member of the higher clergy. This council is presided over by the Minister of the Interior, who is vice-president of the republic, *ex-officio*. The legislative authority is exercised by two Chambers ; the first composed of eighteen senators, and the second of thirty deputies. The Congress meets, by its own right also, on the 15th of September in each year. The High Court of Justice of Quito, the superior councils, the judges of the provinces, the municipal justices of the peace of the cantons, and the parochial judges in the parochial capitals exercise judicial authority. The jury give their verdict in criminal causes, and there are some tribunals of commerce. Ecclesiastically the republic is divided into three dioceses: the

archbishopric of Quito, and the bishoprics of Cuenca and Guayaquil. The clergy are very numerous, reckoning thirty-six convents of monks and eleven convents of nuns. The army is composed of 2000 veterans and a national guard. According to law the inhabitants of Ecuador are all equally free, and neither titles, nobility, nor honorary distinctions are recognised. Slavery was finally abolished in 1854. But the lot of the aborigines was not greatly improved by this since they were always employed in the conveyance of heavy burdens and left in their misery and ignorance. They were forcibly enlisted to serve as private soldiers, because the whites refused to enter the army except as officers. By a just compensation this tyranny has been disastrous for the oppressors ; the Spaniards, reserving to themselves the privilege of working the riches of the country, have decimated the aboriginal races and kept foreigners away, and now, in the 300,000,000 hectares that Ecuador possesses, there are not more than 1,000,000 inhabitants of various races. Industry and agriculture are in want of hands, colonial enterprises, which might give such strength and greatness to the country, cannot be developed or even established, and territories of wonderful fertility lie completely uncultivated.

From the date at which Ecuador was formed into an independent republic it has been constantly agitated by civil wars and wars with the neighbouring states. A question of territory put it from the beginning in armed conflict with Nueva Granada, which would not cede the provinces of Popayan, Buenaventura, and Pasto, so favourable for its communications with the Pacific. The Granadine troops repulsed President Flores, who had already invaded Pasto ; and on the 8th of December, 1831, a treaty was signed which sanctioned the union of the provinces in dispute with Nueva Granada ; but this treaty was not ratified by Ecuador until four years later, after much disputing between the states. Juan José Flores, the companion-in-arms and friend of Bolívar, found support among the partisans of the liberator ; his triumph might have changed the fate of Nueva Granada, but being vanquished he had to confine himself to endeavours to establish the republic of Ecuador, of which he was the first president, and to which he gave the form of government that it has preserved. Head of the Conservative party, he had to fight

against the Liberals, led by Vicente Rocafuerte. In 1834 a revolutionary movement broke out in Quito, and declared Flores an outlaw; he being defeated in Guayaquil, in a short time gained an advantage over his opponent, whom he made prisoner in Quito. The victory of the 18th of January, 1835, was decisive. Some generals attempted to carry on the campaign, and three of them came forward to attack the government. One of them was taken and shot with twenty-three of his party. The other two crossed the frontier. Every day Flores found competitors to fight. He and Rocafuerte being again reconciled (May, 1835), an Assembly, specially convoked to reorganise the country, met on the 9th of August in Ambato, and gave a constitution to Ecuador. Rocafuerte was elected president, and Flores appointed commander-in-chief of the army.

Rocafuerte, born at Guayaquil in 1783, had followed his studies in France, in the capital of which country he formed a friendship with Bolívar when he was twenty years old. Animated by liberal ideas, imbued with revolutionary principles, and fortified by the reading of the best publicists of his day, he returned to the bosom of his agitated country to take part in her first attempts at emancipation. Deputy for the province of Guayaquil in the Spanish Cortes in 1812, and obliged to fly from the Peninsula, he went over Europe and visited the United States, afterwards taking up his residence in Mexico. A distinguished writer, he always showed himself an ardent defender of democratic ideas; president, he proved himself a good administrator; he set in order the finances, which were lying in a veritable chaos; he organised public instruction, established schools, a military school, an agricultural institute, and appointed a commission to draw up a civil and a penal code, which the legislature discussed and passed in 1837. He renewed diplomatic relations with Spain, and Ecuador was the second Spanish-American republic whose independence was recognised by the old mother-country. In what concerns religious matters his policy was highly liberal and in harmony with modern ideas; he never made a compromise with fanaticism, nor contracted unworthy alliances with the clergy, as, after him, some vulgar politicians did, in order to convert them to their personal views. In his message of 1839 he expressed his opinion with the greatest

freedom on the necessity of establishing religious liberty, not only with respect to matters of conscience, but also as a means of favouring immigration and promoting the progress of the republic. Under his able direction the republic passed through a period of calm and prosperity. In the same year (1839) Flores succeeded Rocafuerte, who was appointed governor of Guayaquil.

The most important act of the second presidency of Flores was the decree of the 27th March, 1839, which opened the ports of Ecuador to the commerce and ships of Spain, and which had as a consequence, in 1841, a formal treaty of peace and friendship between the two nations. A convention, which met at Quito, revised the constitution of 1835, and substituted for it a new one, proclaimed on the 31st of March, 1843, which, with the exception of a few modifications, is still in force. Rocafuerte, who was a member of the Assembly, energetically protested against the mutilation of the agreement of Ambato. His firm and patriotic language on such occasions stirred up so much enmity that he judged it opportune to quit his country; he voluntarily expatriated himself and fixed his residence in Lima, whence he undertook the task of supporting his principles by his pen.

At the beginning of 1843, Flores was re-elected for the third time; the conflict between him and the Liberals became more decided every day. A revolution which broke out in Guayaquil on the 6th of March, 1845, overthrew him. Rocafuerte, who was the head of the movement, did not reap any advantage from it, the mulatto Vicente Roca being raised to the presidency. Rocafuerte, elected for the province of Pichincha, in the convention which met at Cuenca, and afterwards senator for four provinces, was appointed in 1846 president of the Senate, and contributed to the establishment of juries for criminal causes. Flores agreed to leave the territory of the republic with the title of commander-in-chief and the annual pay of 15,000 pesos; several attempts made by him to enter Ecuador and again seize power failed completely. The project of falling on Ecuador with an army recruited in Europe has been attributed to him. Rocafuerte, charged by Congress to come to an understanding with Peru, Bolivia and Chili, to concert measures for repelling any expedition of this kind, received at the same time the title of

plenipotentiary in the American Congress that was to meet at Lima; having fallen ill on his arrival at this city in 1846, he died there 7th May, 1847, bequeathing his library to the college at Guayaquil. In him his country lost a great citizen, and America an enthusiastic defender of her independence. Congress ordered the removal of his body to Guayaquil.

A dispute arose with Nueva Granada which gave rise to some military movements, but it was concluded by an agreement signed in Santa Rosa de Carchi on the 29th of May, 1846. Roca made a treaty of commerce with Belgium and a convention with England for the abolition of slavery. On the expiration of his term of office, in October, 1849, parties not being able to agree, the executive power was provisionally conferred on the vice-president, Manuel Ascasubi. The excitement was great, and still more so when the clerical party succeeded in Congress in getting their candidate, Diego Noboa elected; he recalled the Jesuits and gave shelter and protection to the Conservatives who were fugitives from Nueva Granada. Noboa replied to the threats of his neighbour by sending some troops to the frontier; but General José María Urbino, who commanded them, only put himself at their head to overthrow the unpopular president, who, being deposed by a Junta assembled in Guayaquil in July, 1851, was taken and expelled from the territory of the republic. Urbino, being appointed dictator, established the government in Guayaquil, and the ultra-democratic party triumphed in his person. Flores, wishing to reap an advantage from the irritation of the Conservatives, and secretly favoured by the Cabinet of Lima, attempted a *coup de main*; he anchored in the waters of Guayaquil at the head of a squadron on the 14th of March, 1852, with the avowed purpose of re-establishing Noboa as the sole legitimate president; but being betrayed by his crew he fled to Peru. His ill success naturally had no other result than to strengthen Urbino. The latter resigned in 1856, and General Robles succeeded him. The Conservatives were once more defeated. Robles, by a law of 6th December, 1856, applied the decimal system to the money, weights and measures, of the republic; this arrangement, which has been in force since 1858, has been very favourable to commercial interests.

The Clerical or Conservative party redoubled their efforts. Grave impediments arose in the interior, and quarrels with the neighbouring states became more violent. A dispute with Peru, a not very scrupulous neighbour, about some waste lands on the frontiers, led to the blockade of the ports of Ecuador, in spite of the offers of mediation of Nueva Granada and Chili (November, 1858). Robles and Urbino, *the twins* as they were called, put themselves at the head of the army ; General Guillermo Franco, appointed to defend Guayaquil, signed a treaty with the leader of the Peruvian squadron on 21st August, 1859, by which the blockade was raised, but the president refused to ratify this convention ; two insurrections broke out, one in Guayaquil and another in Quito, a provisional Government being formed in each city. Robles and Urbino, being obliged to flee, sought refuge in Chili. The revolutionaries in Guayaquil conferred the power on General Franco, who took the title of Supreme Head, named a ministry, and allied himself with Peru ; but this power, which had to contend with a French squadron, could not aid him. On the other hand, the Conservatives of Quito put at their head a professor of chemistry, Gabriel García Moreno, a son-in-law of Flores. This old general, entrusted with the command of the army, defeated Franco at Babahoyo, 8th August, 1860, and entered Guayaquil on the 14th of September following. Prosecuting, for the advantage of the country, the interminable quarrel with Peru respecting the boundaries, he invaded the cantons of Napo, Canelos, and Quijos ; Peru, being at that time engaged, did no more than protest against this act. The triumvirs of Quito on the 8th of July, 1861, called a National Assembly, which elected Doctor Moreno as president, while Flores received the important title of Governor of Guayaquil.

Moreno, a well-educated man, who united very fine qualities to the defects inherent in his country and race, had been proscribed in his youth. He employed the years of his exile in London and Paris in studying the institutions and administrative organisation of the old world, hoping to be able some day to take back to his country the fruits of his observations and labours. He belonged to one of the oldest Spanish families, and the Conservative party, appreciating his superior intelligence, set all their hopes on him. On coming into power, Moreno found

the finances in a wretched state. The public income did not amount to 1,000,000 pesos; the treasury employed onerous means of obtaining money, and took loans at 20 per cent. The officials could not obtain payment. Moreno gave up his salary of 20,000 duros to be applied to works of public utility. His activity was directed to the most urgent material reforms. To him are owing the construction of roads from the mountainous regions to the coast, the formation of a new port in El Pailon, between the mouths of the rivers Mina and Esmeralda, the establishment of a telegraphic line between the capital and Guayaquil, and the foundation of the mint and the hospital of Quito. After enjoying, at the beginning, well-merited sympathy, Moreno saw his popularity decreasing. The forced currency of paper money gave discontent to many ; a concordat signed with Rome, which betrayed part of the public authority for the advantage of the Church, raised strong protests. It was soon known that, despairing of overcoming them, he had sought the protectorate of a European power ; rumours of annexation to Spain had afterwards taken such consistency that the Minister of Foreign Affairs thought it his duty to invite, by his circular of August, 1861, the Spanish-American Governments to unite, in order to prevent such annexation.

His private correspondence with a French diplomatist, published in Lima, raised a veritable tempest against him. All America was irritated. They endeavoured to form leagues to overthrow him as a traitor to American independence. Peru, which was the country that felt herself the most threatened, increased her efforts to oppose him ; but Ecuador saw herself free from all danger on this side, as a new president of Peru had been elected at the moment when diplomatic relations were broken off and war was probable. Nueva Granada also showed herself offended, her Government putting forward various causes of complaint. In their view, Moreno was not only the man who demanded European intervention, but also the ultra-Conservative, who, recently, in the struggle between the Democratic party of Mosquera, and the Conservative party of Arboleda, had sturdily fought for the latter, binding himself to recognise him as the head of the Neo-Granadine Confederation. On the 15th of August, 1863, Mosquera asked the Ecuatorians to overthrow the

established government, and to join with him to federalise the three nations which previously had formed the Republic of Colombia. In this sense he proposed, on the 29th of September, a treaty that Moreno refused to sign. Mosquera, advancing towards the frontier, declared in a proclamation that he desired to liberate "our brother Democrats of Ecuador from the theocratical yoke of Professor Moreno". The President of Ecuador was authorised by the Chambers, united to him by one political sentiment, to declare that the country was in danger. On the 22nd of November, the aged Flores, at the head of 6000 men, invaded the Neo-Granadine territory, explaining this equivocal manœuvre by the necessity of carrying the war into the enemy's country rather than give up to invasion one of the richest provinces of Ecuador. On the 6th of December he found himself in front of the army of Mosquera, in Cuaspud. Before the battle Mosquera said : "They are 6000 men, but I have 4000 soldiers". The rout of the Ecuatorian army was lamentable ; it had 1500 killed, wounded or dispersed, and 2000 prisoners, and lost all its artillery. The republic seemed lost and thought of throwing itself into the hands of Peru ; but Mosquera showed himself generous. Called away by other duties, he contented himself with imposing a treaty of peace on the vanquished, which was signed on the 30th of December, 1863, at the villa of Pensaqui. This compact was limited to placing the relations of the two countries in their previous state ; Mosquera refused to employ force to convert Ecuador into an integral part of the United States of Colombia.

Such attempts did not tend to raise the prestige of the Conservative party. The power of the president, shaken by two successive defeats, appeared from that moment unable to assure the security of the country. Moreno showed himself ready to resign his authority, but in March, 1864, the Congress decided that he must keep it, and he would have recovered his prestige in public opinion if he had not weakened it by new projects of law, which sacrificed the rights of the state to the interests of the Church. Thus the modifications introduced the preceding year into the concordat entered into with Rome in 1862, the publication of which had been suspended, were suppressed. By the president's influence the Congress bent

before the will of the Holy See, that is to say, it left the clergy under the immediate jurisdiction of their ecclesiastical superiors. The arrangement entered into with the Jesuits for the supervision of a certain number of colleges was approved, and the opening of schools of the Brethren of the Christian Doctrine, supported by the tax-payers, was decreed. Nevertheless, when, after ratifying the treaty of peace with Nueva Granada, passing a law of expropriation for the opening of public roads, organising the police, voting the budget and reducing, for reasons of economy, the standing army to less than 1000 men, the Congress closed on 18th April, 1864, Moreno thought himself sufficiently secure at home. But the situation was less tranquillising abroad. Although peace had been arranged with the United States of Colombia, the tempest was always rumbling on the side of Peru. Solely to clear himself, Moreno sent a plenipotentiary to the Congress of Lima, instructed to examine a project of union between the American republics; when Spain, threatening Peru, occupied the Chincha Islands, he followed an ambiguous line of conduct, which formed a painful contrast to the proofs of sympathy that the other states of America lavished on the Peruvian cause.

Peru, engaged in her war with Spain, was not to be feared for the moment; but the rupture encouraged the hopes of the party hostile to Moreno, whose most active chief, Urbina, had taken refuge on the Peruvian frontier, encouraged and even aided by the Cabinet of Lima. Under such conditions, Moreno had to oppose new revolutionary movements, which were produced one after another. The first broke out in Guayaquil in May; the second in the city of Quito itself, at the latter end of June. In August, Urbina threw the vanguard of his partisans on the Ecuatorial territory. The aged Flores was preparing to march against him, when death seized him in Guayaquil, removing in him one of the last veterans of Independence, the father of the Ecuatorial republic, the man who during forty years had exercised so lamentable an influence on affairs. Moreno put himself at the head of the troops. The struggle was short. In November the province of Loja, the headquarters of the insurrection, was pacified, and Urbina was driven on to the Peruvian territory; the president, among other

measures of repression, ordered the execution of General Maldonado, the chief organiser of the movement in Quito ; and, conqueror, he proclaimed an amnesty, from which the leaders of the insurrection alone were excepted.

Public works, forcibly interrupted, were actively recommenced, in spite of the deplorable condition of the exchequer. A new emission of paper money with forced currency permitted the sanitary works in Quito to be continued, the establishment of a road to unite this city with Guayaquil, and the rebuilding of the edifices destroyed by the earthquake of 1859. An English company undertook to open an important road of communication in return for the concession of the lands adjoining it. The president, who saw the end of his term of office approaching, was impatient to finish the useful works with which he wished to endow his country. Unfortunately, everything was sketched out but nothing yet finished. By a clever policy he put an end to the enmity of the Peruvian Cabinet, and pacifically arranged his differences with Nueva Granada. At this period the use of stamps was introduced. Commerce appeared to revive, and the country resumed its tranquillity.

The elections came on. Those of the chiefs and provincial and cantonal councillors, which took place in December, gave a majority to the Conservative and Government party ; the presidential elections were, a few months later, to secure it the victory. The Opposition put up as a candidate a respectable man, the late president of the Senate, Gomez de la Torre ; nevertheless, Jerónimo Carrion, who was the nominee of Moreno himself, gained the day on the 1st of May, 1865, by 21,733 votes against 8211 obtained by his competitor. It appears that the president used means of doubtful legality to secure the success of his candidate. Moreno received the government of Guayaquil, which he was to hold on quitting the presidency. In the meantime Urbina maintained himself continually on the Peruvian frontier ; he took by surprise, on the 31st of May, the *Guayas*, the only vessel of war possessed by the republic, put the crew to death, procured, besides, three small steamers, and blockaded the port. Moreno went against him, seized an English steamer at anchor in the port, paying three times its value through the remonstrances of the consul, and put on a crew of 150 men ; he

armed another merchant steamer, and going out of port attacked the Urbinists, defeated them, seized their squadron and shot ninety-seven prisoners. The correspondence of Urbina, which was taken with his baggage, compromised many Liberals. Some were condemned to death, and the property of others was confiscated. Peru, also, was struggling under the efforts of rival parties. Moreno thought this a favourable moment to revenge himself on that country.

A new minister plenipotentiary being appointed to Quito, he refused to recognise him unless his Government admitted itself a debtor to the Republic of Ecuador of 1,500,000 duros, as an indemnity for the support that Urbino had found at Lima. This did not in any way prevent Ecuador adhering, in the following year, to a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, already signed between Chili and Peru, to resist Spain, and on this occasion a postal convention was signed with the Cabinet of Valparaíso, which for some years had broken off diplomatic relations with Ecuador.

The presidency of Carrion was at first tranquil enough. A man of modest habits and simple manners, Carrion left his estate for the first time when he came to Quito to take possession of power. He understood the difficulties of the position from the beginning. Carrion was the nominee of Moreno, who reckoned upon continuing his work under his name, and making him act in conformity with his wishes ; but Carrion left politics to his friend Bustamante, an unpopular minister, who took advantage of his position to make himself absolute ; two senators and three deputies were arrested on the very steps of the Congress House. Carrion and Bustamante, accused of this deed, resolved on the forcible dissolution of the Chamber, but this *coup d'état* failed miserably. The minister fell, and Carrion had no other alternative than to associate Moreno with himself in the Government. The latter continued to be the most popular chief of the Conservative party, and being entrusted with the command of the troops, he made use of them to rebel against Carrion. On the night of the 5th of November, Congress declared that the president had made himself "unworthy of the high position to which the popular confidence had raised him". Before this sentence, communicated by Moreno in person,

Carrion resigned his functions. According to the constitution, the vice-president, Arteta, was invested, in the interim, with supreme power; Espinosa being elected president on the 29th of January, 1868. In the following year, General Veinte-mila rose against Espinosa with all the artillery which was under his command, but was killed in entering the city of Guayaquil.

In 1869 the constitution underwent modifications, in virtue of which the power passed into the hands of Moreno for the period of six years. He being given up more and more to Catholic influence, appeared to wish to perpetuate himself in the presidency, aided by the clergy, who urged him on such a dangerous road. The support given to the missions, undertaken by the fathers in Quito, in September, 1874, and above all the sending a present to the Pope of more than a million from the funds of the state, excited men's minds, and insurrections broke out in various parts, which the Government met by declaring martial law in the provinces of Guayas, Azuay and Manabi. When the termination of his second presidentship arrived, Moreno, taking no notice of what the constitution prescribed, solicited the suffrages of his fellow-citizens for the third time, and by this act, which made his desire for command more and more evident, he, as it were, gave the signal for his death. On the 6th of August, three assassins, posted on the staircase of his palace, fell upon him, clove his skull with the stroke of a *machete*, and riddled him with bullets and stabs. Such was the tragical end of the man who may be censured for having shown himself peremptory by instinct and on principle, and at the same time too violent and extremely severe in his reprehensions. A vassal of the clergy, the complaisant instrument of their ambitious projects, he allowed them to extend their power throughout the country, and it was through him that friars of all orders could fanaticise as they liked indifferent and confiding people. It is right to acknowledge, nevertheless, that during the years of his dictatorship very great progress was made. The receipts of the exchequer rose in the year of his death to 3,000,000 pesos. The consolidated or permanent debt was to be extinguished in 1876, and the floating debt did not amount to more than about 1,500,000 pesos.

From what has been said, it is demonstrated that in spite of military insurrections, in spite of being continually threatened by its neighbours, on account of its weakness, the Republic of Ecuador has prospered in some degree, seeing its commerce develop and its means of communication increase, which count now more than 300 kilometres of high roads, 400 kilometres bridle roads, a railway in course of construction, and some wire bridges, which replace the swing bridges of osier, on which the travellers are suspended over the abysses. Its dissensions, the financial disorder, the scarcely repaired disasters of the terrible earthquake of 1859, have not been sufficient to prevent Ecuador entering on the path of economical progress as she does now, in such a manner as to give reason for believing that, with time, this republic will become one of the most prosperous countries of the young America.

The strategic position of its capital, the mildness of its climate, the fertility of its soil, which in richness rivals that of Peru, the communication that the river Amazon allows it to open with Europe, all promise it an agreeable future ; but, on the one hand, it is necessary for the public to be drawn from the state of dull ignorance and superstition in which intolerant priests and friars keep it, and on the other that new immigrants come to replace or at least to support the primitive population, decimated or dispersed by an administration wanting in intelligence. The natives of the country are by nature endowed with faculties proper for the labours of manufacture, since, notwithstanding that they use only primitive methods, they produce carpets remarkable for the quality of the weaving, the beauty of the designs, and the brilliance of the colours. The introduction of machinery has permitted the abilities of this people, reduced for a long time to supply by patience, ingenuity, and application, the insufficient means and instruments of fabrication, to be utilised. Agriculture, for the study of which a school has been founded, progresses slowly ; but the means of communication, which join the elevated table-lands of the Andes with different points on the Pacific coast, through the woods and valleys, will permit of the introduction of the means of cultivation in the clearing of new ground. In every way the Republic of Ecuador can only found serious

expectations on colonisation, a thing that the country, as well as its president, Antonio Borrero, elected in 1876, appear to have understood. Immigration, stupidly opposed for a long time, ought, on the contrary, to be fostered and formally protected, and these colonists will bring not only the assistance of their strength but also of their intelligence to this country, little known to Europeans and not much more so to Americans.

## CHAPTER IV.

### BRAZIL.

NOTWITHSTANDING that the Empire of Brazil differs very much from the Spanish colonies, considered under the triple aspect of its political organisation, its customs and its language, it very much resembles them, when examined from the point of view of its economic problem, as, indeed, the same want of proportion between man's labour and the fertility of that highly favoured soil is noted in it. Although the political constitution of Brazil offers more conditions of stability because the limits of its system are perfectly marked out and settled, the empire is not always free from certain agitations that sometimes produce serious crises and far-reaching conflicts ; and although these are sometimes limited to its interior life, and sometimes extend beyond it, they always appear to have a certain regularity ; and, although they sometimes appear grave between parties who are disputing for power, they never have any other consequence than a more or less radical change of ministry.

According to the Brazilian Statistical Department, this empire measures 12,672,742 square kilometres, almost half of South America. Its population, which scarcely reaches 11,000,000 inhabitants, corresponds neither to its position, which is the most convenient for taking part in the intellectual and commercial movement of Europe, nor to the richness of its natural productions. Its coasts extend 8500 kilometres along the Atlantic Ocean, and have a large number of islands, some important for the fertility of the soil, and others for their superior geographical conditions. Its chief ports, among them Bahia, Angra dos Reis, and Rio Janeiro, are spacious enough to shelter all the navies of the world at once. The very extent of its territory makes it difficult to fix the boundaries of this vast

empire, for not even two centuries of continual disputes between Spain and Portugal have been sufficient to fix them. There are some difficulties at the present day between Brazil and the neighbouring states. These are on the north French, English and Dutch Guyana, the Republic of Venezuela and the United States of Colombia ; on the south, Uruguay and the Argentine Confederation ; on the west, the same confederation, Paraguay, Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador.

Brazil, which could perfectly well support 300,000,000 of inhabitants, and which, as we have seen, has scarcely 11,000,000 according to the census taken in 1874, includes 1,500,000 slaves, and 500,000 Indians who live in an almost savage state. Its population, which is extremely sparse, is divided among twenty provinces and the independent municipality formed by the city of Rio Janeiro and its dependencies. Another new administrative circumscription is on the point of being established, which will include the fertile banks of the river San Francisco, and bearing the name of this copious river will be formed of part of the territories which belong at present to the provinces of Pernambuco, Bahia, and Minas Geraes.

The Empire of Brazil, by reason of its extent, cannot present a uniformity of climate. Lakes abound in it, large and full flowing rivers cross it in every direction, among which is the largest and deepest on the globe, the wonderful river Amazon, which runs for more than 2600 kilometres through Brazilian territory and with its tributaries is navigable for a total length of 30,000 kilometres.

Its territory bristles with mountains, some of which reach a considerable height, and the temperature throughout the country is for the most part hot, especially in the equatorial regions. In the central districts the action of the sun is less felt, and it is more temperate on the littoral because of the constant breezes which blow there ; and as we go toward the south a more salubrious and agreeable climate is met with, especially on the great plains of the Rio Grande, which are eminent among the best regions of the globe, and only comparable, among American countries, to the fertile and temperate Italy among European regions. This, at least, is the opinion of the French physician, M. Segaud,

expressed in his book entitled *On the Climate and Maladies of Brazil*, and it must be so, since statistical studies demonstrate that the mortality of the large cities, including Rio Janeiro, does not reach that of the capitals of Europe, which boast of having better guarantees for public health, notwithstanding that the terrible *yellow fever* passed through these countries in 1873, a malady due in great part to the peculiar conditions under which the people of South America live.

As to the vegetation and mineral productions of that country, it is sufficient to read what travellers who have visited it have said about its wonderful fertility, since no one has thought himself able to succeed in describing its magnificence. After Mexico, Peru, and Bolivia, Brazil is the country that has given the most of the precious metals to the rest of the world ; but, as in the other parts of our South America, the want of hands and of speculation is to be noted there, due, no doubt, to the sparseness of population, and also to the fact that Brazilian society, as a daughter of the conquest, counts slavery as one of its foundations. The Indian is always repulsed by the white man, the master's whip keeps the negro bent towards the soil, and the indolence and sensuality that accord so well with the peculiar conditions of that climate and the fertility of its soil still reign there in great part. Fortunately, for some years past, the Old World has been sending labourers to those rich and little-worked districts, who, as colonists, will be the principal agents of the prosperity of the country. Twenty-five thousand Europeans arrive annually in Brazil, dividing themselves between the country and the towns. In the absence of white women they form unions with Indian and negro women, and the offspring of these unions are better able to bear the tropical climates. This has given reason to another contemporary writer, D'Assier, to say that only by this continual infusion of European blood, by the rehabilitation of labour, perfecting itself in ideas and habits, and by the vivifying action of railways on the countries through which they pass, civilisation will prosecute her conquests and take possession of those immense spaces, solely given up to the forces of Nature, and that the contempt that the free man feels for every kind of work does not proceed only from the climate, but has its origin in the belief, very common in countries where

slavery exists, that work dishonours, and that this opinion, the offspring of slavery, can only disappear with slavery itself.

In the first part of this work we have seen the court of Portugal, flying from the French army in 1808, demand an asylum from its opulent colony of the New World. The result of the presence of John VI. on Brazilian soil, until then subject to the rigour of the most narrow colonial system, was that the barriers that kept all the ports closed to foreign nations were broken down. After ceasing to be colonies and becoming a kingdom in 1815, the ideas of the time penetrated into the country, and an evident proof of this was the revolution in Pernambuco, which in 1817 was the first step that this nation took towards its independence. An illustrious ecclesiastic, Juan Ribeiro, imbued with the principles of equality and liberty that had shaken the old system in Europe, was elected president of the provisional Government, and being the first to set the example, had followed the insurrectionary army commanded by Domingo José Martin, cheerfully bearing all privations. The republican system, which lasted only two months and a half, was tried, and Ribeiro, following the example of Condorcet, with whose doctrines he was inspired, committed suicide, and the Royalists carried his head on a pike through the streets of Pernambuco. The insurrection being put down, the other chiefs suffered the extreme penalty of the law; one of the principal agents in the repression, which was cruel and implacable, was the Conde de Arcos.

As, however, these facts had none the less caused the rights of the country to be discussed, the permanence of John VI. in Brazil was constantly disturbed by insurrectionary movements, sometimes caused by the increase of taxation and the vices of the administration of justice, and at others by the exaggerated demands of the sovereign and his notorious partiality for the Portuguese; and although John VI. was proclaimed on the 5th of February, 1818, King of Portugal, Brazil and the Algarves, the causes of the disruption, which had already commenced, continued. Besides, important events had taken place in Europe. The Portuguese nation, impoverished to pay the expenses of the ostentatious luxury of Rio Janeiro, humbled at seeing that it had suddenly become a colony in order that

Brazil might take the place of the mother country ; seeing its wealth going to be spent in America without America being of any service to it, demanded the return of the court to Lisbon ; and this demand, quite natural in the Portuguese, was to cause them the loss of Brazil. When the revolution broke out at Oporto, in 1820, the object of which was to give a constitutional government to Portugal, Pernambuco became again disturbed. Bahía and the province of Pará proclaimed the constitution promulgated by the Cortes, while the court of Rio Janeiro was dreaming of sending an Anglo-Brazilian expedition against Portugal. The weak and melancholy king, placed between his wife, the ambitious Charlotte, who was the soul of the Absolutist party and had a special court which formed a centre of opposition to the government of her husband, and his eldest son, Dom Pedro, who advised him to make some concessions, had at last the good fortune to follow his advice, by which, for the moment, he calmed the popular excitement, and accepted by a formal decree the bases of the future constitution, a decree which was read by Dom Pedro himself to the multitude assembled in the theatre of San Juan. Afterwards, disgusted with a people whom in reality he had never liked, the unhappy monarch embarked in April, 1821, for Portugal, leaving the regency of Brazil in the hands of the hereditary prince who was scarcely twenty-two years of age, five days after the occurrence of a terrible disaster. The electors who were to choose the deputies to represent them in the Cortes of Portugal, being assembled in the Exchange of Rio Janeiro, and manifesting a desire to oppose the departure of the sovereign, or at least that he should make a formal promise that Brazil should always preserve the same rights as the mother country, were attacked and shot point-blank by the auxiliary division, making thirty victims, and immediately completing their work by giving themselves up to pillage.

During the stay of John VI. in Brazil some improvements in colonisation, the civilisation of the savage tribes, and the exploration of the great rivers and of some mines were initiated. Agriculture and manufacturing industry received an impulse ; a school for teaching the mathematics and military science was founded ; and a hospital and schools of anatomy, surgery and

medicine. A colony of foreign artists, among them Lebreton, Debret and Taunay, and another of Italian musicians were invited to Brazil ; a school of fine arts was established, and various notable edifices and a theatre were built.

By one of those acts of inadvertence or inexperience, the Cortes re-established the colonial system for Brazil, and, relying on the garrisons of the cities, sent out decrees as impolitic as they were irritating, and even went so far as to wish to oblige the prince regent to return home. Dom Pedro would not obey this decree, and declared, on the 9th of January, 1822, that he would remain in Brazil, after which declaration Rio Janeiro, San Paulo, and Bahia took up arms to expel the Portuguese troops. The regent, with a match in one hand, and leaning on a piece of artillery with the other, showed that he would be the first to fire on the auxiliary division if it did not immediately embark ; he went in person to put down a Royalist insurrection in Minas Geraes, and on his return to Rio Janeiro the people acclaimed him with very great enthusiasm. Thus all the efforts made by the partisans of the fallen Government to gain some advantage during the absence of Dom Pedro turned out useless. Later, on the 13th of May, he was honoured by the representatives of the provinces with the title of *Perpetual Defender of Brazil*, and on the 12th of October the National Assembly acclaimed him *Constitutional Emperor*, after a decree of the 1st of August had completed the rupture of every bond of dependence between Brazil and the Portuguese nation.

The revolution went beyond what the prince in his ambition could have hoped ; he accepted it with all its consequences, anxious to occupy the throne which had just been set up. The advice that his father had given him on his departure as to preserving Brazil for the Crown of Portugal as long as he could, or for himself, in case that were impossible, animated the private views of Dom Pedro in such a manner that he lost no opportunity of profiting by the errors of the Government of Lisbon, errors which made him more appreciated every day by the Brazilians. On becoming constitutional emperor, he excused himself in his father's eyes by saying that it was the only means of preserving Brazil for the House of Braganza ; and whether his words were sincere or not, there is certainly every probability

that, excited as the Brazilians were against Portuguese domination, they would have set up a federal republic if they had not established an independent monarchy, now that the bond that united them to the mother country was completely broken. England also had her share in these events, since the command of the imperial squadron was given to Lord Cochrane, and the Cabinet of St. James, through their ambassador, endeavoured to restore tranquillity to the mind of the King of Portugal by observing to him that after his death Brazil would naturally return to form part of the Portuguese monarchy, since his son, Dom Pedro, had not renounced the throne of Portugal on being proclaimed emperor by the Brazilians. But the son of John VI. was not the man that the circumstances required to found an empire. Imbued by his education and origin with all the prejudices of the old courts of Europe, in love at the time, impetuous, the slave of his impressions, without firmness of purpose, and very often undecided in his resolutions, it is plain that he did not fulfil the conditions that a constitutional king should unite in himself. Besides, as at the commencement it was necessary for him to gain the good-will of the people, he showed himself disposed to accept eminently liberal institutions, and went so far as to have himself proclaimed Grand Master of the Freemasons; but as soon as he felt himself secure of the power to which he aspired he returned to his Absolutist ideas, ordered the masonic lodges which he had formerly protected to be closed, surrounded himself with favourites, and compromised his reign for ever by issuing, in November, 1823, his decree for the dissolution of the first Constituent Assembly.

Notwithstanding that certain liberties were recognised in the constitution of 1824, which he himself drew up, he could not overcome the resentment that his conduct towards the Brazilian people had caused. Pernambuco and Pará resisted, and appealing to the sovereignty of the people which was ignored, the former declared itself a republic, inducing the provinces of the north to join and form the Confederation of Ecuador; but although Parahyba, Ceara and Rio Grande do Norte seconded the movement, it was very cruelly repressed, and the punishments which were employed were so severe that discontent went on increasing and became general throughout the empire, acquiring

greater gravity on the rising of the Cisplatine province, which demanded independence. As it was not doubtful that the Government of La Plata participated in these events, Dom Pedro declared war against the Argentine Republic at the end of 1825 ; England stirred up the quarrel on her side, and that campaign was a series of events as disagreeable as they were useless.

The demands of the mother country were added to the difficulties of the war, and the obstacles created by the numerous and powerful Federal Republican party, since Portugal could not submit to the loss of such rich colonies whose contributions were more than ever necessary, considering the precarious state to which her exchequer was reduced. John VI., whom his wife and his son Miguel betrayed ; surrounded by conspiracies ; wearied by the dissensions that daily became graver between the members of his Government ; and enfeebled at length by his sufferings, dragged on a miserable existence, and was thought to be epileptic. On the 13th of May, 1825, at the instance of Sir Charles Stuart, the representative of the British Government at Lisbon, he signed and acknowledged, between two nervous crises, the independence of Brazil and its complete separation from Portugal ; but in ten months the two crowns were again united on the head of Dom Pedro by the death of the unfortunate king. A few months later Dom Pedro ceded the crown of Portugal to his daughter Maria, who was then seven years old ; always giving way to the influence of England, which obliged him to abdicate that one of his two crowns which should most have flattered his *amour propre*. The abdication was made on the understanding that the young queen should marry her uncle, Prince Miguel. It was at the same time the intention of Dom Pedro that the Princess Isabel Maria should act as regent during the minority of Maria ; but in this also he had to yield to the suggestions of England, and Prince Miguel undertook the regency, thus giving the emperor to understand how precarious his position had become. The regent took the oath to the Constituent Charter promulgated by Dom Pedro ; but, urged on by the Clerical and Absolutist party, he dissolved the Cortes, seized the throne by force, and repelled all idea of matrimony with the young queen, who was not even allowed to disembark in Portugal, and had to return to Brazil under the

protection of England. Miguel yielded to the influence, more or less occult, of this nation, which, protesting its neutrality, fired on a body of 600 partisans of Dom Pedro when they were entering Terceira, the only point in the kingdom that remained loyal to Donna Maria. All the leanings of the policy of England in this question tended to make a new union between Brazil and Portugal impossible, postponing indefinitely the elevation of Donna Maria to the throne of Portugal.

Pedro I. desired, notwithstanding the anarchy that reigned in his states and the difficulties, every day increasing, of the situation, to support the disregarded rights of his daughter, and this made the Brazilians afraid of seeing their resources exhausted in defence of a dynastic question that in reality did not at all interest them. Under such auspices the treaty which terminated the unfortunate campaign in the south was signed, acknowledging the independence of Montevideo, and giving a motive for accusing him of sacrificing the best port on the La Plata and a fortress very important for the security of the frontiers and the development of Brazilian commerce.

Dom Pedro, being a widower since 1826, when his wife, Leopoldina of Austria, died, contracted a second marriage in 1829 with Maria Amalia of Leuchtenberg, the daughter of Eugène Beauharnais, and this marriage so much increased the general discontent, by forecasting a new descent of foreigners on the coast and the public offices, that the Congress, converted into an echo of the opinion of the country, assumed a certain aggressive attitude and gave occasion to the king to dissolve it in September of the same year. The impression that this extreme measure caused in the country was so deep that it was in vain that, after much vacillation, Dom Pedro called a ministry composed of republican elements, for the most part Brazilians. It was, however, too late to avert the tempest by means of this expedient, and he had no other alternative than, by changing tactics, to fly to the last resort of Governments ready to fall, and in 1830 he brought in a bill restraining the liberty of the press. Echoes of the movement that had taken place in Europe had been heard in Brazil; the people, who were preparing to throw off the yoke that oppressed them, were restless; the storm burst out at length, and on the 6th of April, 1831, the capital

rose in arms ; the multitude rushed into the streets and drew after them even the troops who were guarding the emperor's palace. Pedro I. understood that his mission in America was concluded for ever, and only endeavoured to save the monarchical principle by abdicating in favour of his son, Pedro II., who was then sixteen years old ; and on the 13th of the same month embarked for Europe with the intention of commanding in person an expedition against the usurper Miguel and disputing with him the crown of Portugal by arms.

He left as guardian to his son, Pedro II., Bonifacio José de Andrada e Silva, late head of the Democratic party, who had been exiled to France since the year 1823 ; but, although this election was a guarantee for liberty, Andrada, who went from Bordeaux to Brazil to take up this delicate charge, made himself suspected by the popular party, and the late minister of the revolution was deprived of his office in 1833 and ejected from the imperial palace by the public force, a Council of Regency taking his place in the guardianship of the young emperor.

The Congress having met in 1834 gave a more decentralised form to the organisation of the country ; conceding to each province its own code of laws and leaving to its care all the mechanism of its internal affairs, administrative or judicial, provincial or municipal ; and this measure, bold and radical in the extreme, saved the unity of the Brazilian Empire in those truly critical moments in which a very powerful party endeavoured to divide it into small states in order to form a federal republic similar to that of the United States. This act, which was generally well received, served afterwards as a pretext to certain districts to rise in insurrection ; movements which were easily suppressed, with the exception of Rio Grande do Sul, in which district it had acquired large proportions, prolonging the civil war for ten years. A decree of amnesty wisely promulgated put an end to the many conflicts which were the cause of so many victims. Garibaldi, the hero of liberty in Europe and America, fought for some time among the partisans of the independence of Rio Grande.

In 1835 the Congress of Deputies elected to the regency of the empire Father Antonio Feijoo, Bishop of Mariana, a senator and late Minister of Justice, at the same time that it excluded

from the succession to the Crown Donna Maria, Queen of Portugal, and appointed as immediate successor to the throne, in case of the decease of Pedro II., his sister, Donna Januaria. The new regent had to sustain constant struggles for two years, until, believing the reconciliation of parties impossible, he gave in his resignation, and Pedro Araujo de Lima, the late Minister of War, took his place, and was able to maintain himself until July, 1840. But having conceived the project of dissolving the Cortes, they declared the majority of Pedro II., who was then fifteen years of age, and he was crowned on the 18th of July, 1841.

The result of the dissolution of the Cortes, after this solemn act, was that fresh insurrectionary movements broke out in San Paulo and Minas Geraes, in which districts the republicans had a large party. General Caxias took possession of San Paulo; but the insurrection had extended as far as Minas Geraes, where the senator, Feliciano, had assembled 6000 troops. Nevertheless, a decisive victory obtained by Caxias at Santa Lucia in 1842 reduced the partisans of a federal republic to impotence. Six years had not passed before the brave Pernambuco made a last attempt, and on that, as on other occasions, a prudent amnesty swept away the traces of so many commotions; a measure so much the more praiseworthy as it re-established tranquillity without the slightest detriment to liberty; which is an undeniable proof of the uselessness of scaffolds, of severity and bloodshed, and, without doubt, has contributed a prime element to the greatness of that empire; on the contrary, the military commissions, summary executions and severity displayed from 1817 to 1824, when John VI. as well as Pedro I. reigned, did nothing more than precipitate Brazil on the road to misfortune.

Pedro II., a well-read man of very fine character, and a lover of liberty, has exercised his power with singular intelligence, and has never sought a pretext for converting it into a military dictatorship, notwithstanding the obstacles that the retrograde party sometimes, and at others the advanced party, have created for him; and his exquisite tact, his elevation of views, his aptitude for negotiation and his moderation in the exercise of his prerogatives have saved him from the rocks on which so many sovereigns have fallen. Thus it is that in Brazil martial law is

unknown, the right and liberty of printing are enjoyed to their fullest extent, and many republican periodicals are published without the slightest risk of being prosecuted for their opinions. He reigns in Brazil, but does not govern ; he is the first in making the rights of the Parliament respected, by which he has gained the esteem of the Brazilians, and he perfectly understands that liberty is the most efficacious means of consolidating the throne and securing his power. If in the purely political sphere he has endeavoured, as the constitutional compact indicates, to be the chief representative of the political association of all the Brazilian citizens, he has always taken the principal part in the affairs of his country, and all his efforts have tended to develop the agricultural, commercial and maritime wealth of Brazil, so as to secure the preponderance of the empire in South America.

The Constitution which rules in Brazil, to which Pedro II. has always been loyal, is that which was promulgated by Pedro I., 25th May, 1824, with the additional acts of 12th August, 1834, and 12th May, 1840, which partly reformed it. Consequently, it is one of the oldest fundamental laws that are in force in the civilised countries. According to them, the head of the state has the title of Constitutional Emperor, Perpetual Defender of Brazil, and is the first representative of the nation. The sovereign power belongs to the nation, and is exercised by means of the two Chambers, the Congress of Deputies and the Senate. The first is composed of 152 members elected by deputies, who are chosen directly by all the citizens. Their powers last for four years, and to the popular Chamber only belongs the introduction of money bills, the calling out of the armed forces, the accusation of ministers, and the election of the person who is to occupy the throne in case of the extinction of the reigning family. The Senate is composed of fifty-eight members, each elected by the emperor for life, from the three who are chosen by the electors ; the princes of the imperial family only are Senators in their own right, on reaching the age of twenty-five years. The two Chambers together form the General Assembly, which has special powers, distinct from those belonging to each of the bodies which compose it. The laws have no force until they receive the assent of the emperor.

The judicial authority is exercised by the magistrate, who

hears and pronounces his sentence on the facts, and by the judges who enforce the laws. No suit may be commenced until conciliatory measures have been tried, for which purpose a justice of the peace is elected directly by the people in each parochial district.

The only prerogatives reserved to the emperor are his sanction of the laws, the granting of pardons and the convocation of the Chambers in the intervals when the sessions are suspended, and these powers constitute what is called in politics the regulating power of the state. The executive power belongs to the head of the state with the direct responsibility of his ministers.

The constitution guarantees to the citizens personal and religious liberty, the inviolability of property, the freedom of labour and the absolute liberty of the press. Titles of nobility become extinct on the death of the person who has obtained them, and many are given to those citizens who have contributed to the support of education by founding school buildings or contributing funds to erect them. Instruction is public and gratuitous, and although slavery is tolerated, from respect to the rights acquired before the declaration of Brazil as an independent state, this right is not set down in the constitution of the state.

The provincial administration, following a sufficiently decentralising system, has in each province a council elected by the people, which is renewed every two years, and is presided over by a delegate from the central authority. This council includes among its powers that of creating or suppressing parishes and districts, altering their boundaries, suppressing them if it is thought necessary, and changing their chief towns, and it is the duty of the civil chief who presides over it to carry out its resolutions. Each parish is divided into districts, which have their municipal councils and their administrative, judicial and police courts. The first are composed of nine members in the cities and seven in the smaller towns, all elected by the people, and presided over by him who obtains the largest number of votes, and their powers last for four years. They have charge of the finance and government of the town, for which they dispose of and can raise special taxes. The central Government, which has its seat in the capital and is divided among the powers that we have enumerated, has under its exclusive jurisdiction, superior

education, the post-office, the financial system in general, diplomatic and consular business, the police and the military and naval forces. The central Government has the nomination, in the ecclesiastical order, of the metropolitan and the bishops.

All the provinces and districts are united with the capital, which is a *neutral* municipality, and a strong political centralisation results from this union, which has a broad administrative decentralisation as a regulator or counterpoise, since each province has its own special revenue, which it administers itself, and another which forms part of the general budget and goes to the treasury. It is, in a word, a system very similar to that of the United States, allied to a constitutional and hereditary monarchy, but with the exclusion of women from the throne.

Brazil has had two foreign wars under the reign of Pedro II. One in 1851 against Rosas, who armed and supported Oribe, with the object of incorporating Uruguay with the Argentine Confederation, and the other, which lasted from 1865 to 1869, against the Republic of Paraguay and its president, Lopez. Without entering into details of these two notable events, for our previous remarks are sufficient, we only say that this intervention of the Brazilian empire in the affairs of La Plata has been variously estimated by historians. Some have suspected that Brazil desired to continue the traditions of the Portuguese at the time of the colonisation and to aggrandise herself at the expense of the neighbouring republic, and from this point of view, that is to say, that this suspicion is correct, there would be an explanation, up to a certain point, of the fears of Lopez from the secret note emanating from the chancery of Montevideo to which the author of *Contemporary Brazil* refers; but the Portuguese historians, and among them Pereira da Silva, refute such an assertion, saying that Brazil has too great an extent of territory, and that, while wishing to retain it, she sees in this the principal cause of her weakness, as long as she cannot people her deserts, cover her immense plains with flourishing cities, open roads through all her uninhabited forests, embank the rivers, cultivate the lands which they cross in every direction, and cause ships and steamers to traverse them, carrying civilisation and industrial life and activity to the deserted centre and the lands for the most part uncultivated.

Nevertheless, it is not less certain that Brazilian statesmen do, in some sort, direct their ambitious glances towards the side of La Plata ; and although they know that very great difficulties oppose them, there is no lack of publicists who consider and openly assert that such territorial modifications are an inevitable consequence of the antagonism between the Anglo-Saxon and the Hispano-Portuguese races, and declare that they are unavoidable because Brazil will not be able to resist the United States until it has extended to its natural boundaries, which are, according to the above-mentioned writers, on the west the river Paraguay, the state of that name having to disappear, as well as those of Corrientes, Entre Ríos and Banda Oriental, which prevent the empire extending itself to its natural limit, which is the Paraná. Every time that such necessity has been proclaimed, they add, the Brazilian Government has responded with every kind of protest ; but, notwithstanding these protests and all guarantees, if it were only a question of Brazil, they would not justify the repugnance of the sovereign and of his responsible advisers to the realisation of a task which may be difficult but is indispensable ; a repugnance that might indeed be the result of prudence, or, on the other hand, of honour.

The same author of *Contemporary Brazil* has said : "that no nation in either hemisphere has more right to extend its boundaries than Brazil has on the side of La Plata, since it is an indispensable necessity for the prosperity of the country rather than a political consequence. The streams that form the river Plate, that is, the Paraná, the Uruguay, the Paraguay, etc., all have their origin in Brazilian territory ; besides, these are and will be for a long time the only means of communication that will permit of the transportation of the productions of the province of Matto Grosso to the ocean and of communication with the capital. That if war should break out between the riverine populations of these rivers one of the most extensive provinces of the empire would be deprived of its communications and isolated from the rest of the world in the midst of its deserts." D'Assier, the author of the preceding lines, hastens to point out, nevertheless, that he does not think that the time has arrived to apply to Brazil that historical law by which the large states extend, live,

and renew themselves at the expense of the small ones ; and he rightly adds that the obstacles that arrested Pedro I. before Montevideo still exist. The want of communications, the enormous distances, the difficulties of the ground, and, above all, the different origin of the population, Spanish in Banda Oriental and Indian in Paraguay, make the conquest impossible.

Brazil must have thought so, when, after having bought the victory very dearly, it left the Republic of Paraguay existing ; because, although it acquired some extension of territory, this annexation on the frontiers has not the importance in these countries that it would have in Europe. The conqueror had claimed this acquisition for a long time past, and even after having reduced the enemy to the territory situated between the rivers Paraguay and Paraná, the conquerors thought that they could justify their reasons for fighting solely by the interests of liberty and civilisation. On that occasion the imperial Government behaved as the most exacting international policy could desire, and conducted itself in the best manner possible for the advantage of peace and tranquillity, not abusing its victory.

Violence has no part in the proceedings of the Government of Brazil ; it has shown itself clement in the hour of triumph at home as well as abroad, for which it may be congratulated, and from this arises that internal tranquillity that it enjoys, contrasting with the continual disturbances, almost always sterile, of the neighbouring countries. This does not mean that it is free from certain political shocks such as take place in Chili, without, however, dragging on from revolution to revolution like Bolivia. Although political parties have been broken up to a considerable extent, and opinions have formed new combinations, the difficulty of establishing a certain equilibrium between Liberal aspirations and Conservative tendencies raises parliamentary storms and changes of ministry, that have sometimes led to a dissolution of the Chambers. Pedro II. has shown himself little inclined to sanction acts of this nature, and one proof of that is the changes in the riotous year 1862. The ministries, which were overthrown almost as soon as they were formed, tended to promote a conflict with England, which had its origin in the month of June of the previous year. On the opening of the Cortes in May, 1863, all the elements of a hostile majority were

collected, and in view of the complications that appeared abroad the emperor consented to the dissolution on the 12th of the same month ; but only after having exhausted all other means, and having refused it to the two preceding Cabinets.

This measure, which seemed very favourable to the Conservatives, who furiously attacked the ministerial policy, was, considering the circumstances, a veritable step towards the Liberal party. The elections took place, and the Conservative party was overthrown ; the Liberals, united to the ministerialists by the necessities of the moment, and composing with them a coalition party called the league, were successful in the voting of the 8th of September ; but the Olinda ministry, opposed by those who had been their allies, fell in January, 1864, being replaced on the 15th of the same month by the Cabinet presided over by Zacarías de Goes e Vasconcellos, head of the ministry that had fallen in order to give place to the Marqués de Olinda, after a few days of life. This Government, being formed of elements taken from different groups, had not sufficient prestige to impose itself on the country, and disappeared in the month of September, in which Furtado was commissioned to form a more liberal and homogeneous Cabinet.

The position of the country became graver every day, and the condition of the finances more and more precarious. It had been necessary to spend large sums of money on the refitting of the fleet, first, because of the differences which arose with Great Britain, and then as a consequence of the expeditions against Montevideo and Paraguay, to all which must be added the panic caused by the bankruptcy of one of the first banking houses of Rio Janeiro, and other disasters by which commerce suffered very much.

The setting new army contingents on a war footing and the enlargement of the fleet left the Treasury exhausted ; fortunately the quarrel with England had a pacific termination. The treaty of the Triple Alliance of the 8th of May, 1865, was received by the people with sincere rejoicing. On the other hand, it showed by warlike manifestations that it approved of the campaign against Paraguay, because it hoped from it an extension of territory, and that the importance of the Brazilian nation would increase ; it occurred to no one to blame the expenditure made.

with this motive, nor the exceptional measures adopted, such as obligatory enlistment. Nevertheless, the star of the Furtado ministry was waning, and a vote of censure on certain matters of administration overthrew it on 24th May, 1865, in order that the Marqués de Olinda might return to power. He chose his colleagues from the two factions of the Liberal party, the Moderates and the Radicals; but far from bettering the position of the country in the new period that was commencing, the scarcity of the resources of the treasury, and the distress of the people increased. From 1866 the Government lacked men and money. The whites were not sufficient for the needs of the army; it was necessary to have recourse to men of colour; and liberating the slaves to convert them into soldiers was taking a very dangerous step towards emancipation. Freedom of navigation was also an imperious necessity of the moment. The two loans which it was attempted to raise, one in London and the other in Brazil itself, having had no results, the precarious state of the finances reached its height, and the ministry, finding itself powerless in the situation of affairs, which was filled with new difficulties every day, resigned, and Zacarías de Goes e Vasconcellos returned to power, and took the Finance Department.

Affairs being in this state, the electoral period of 1867 was opened, in which the voting gave a small majority to the Government. It, like its predecessors, was blamed for the slowness with which warlike operations were carried on, and of which the end was still considered indefinite, and it was also doubted what the reward for so much bloodshed and so much money expended would be. The Government being sharply accused by the Conservatives, who attributed to it the intention of prematurely bringing forward the question of the emancipation of the negroes, had to face the unpopularity of taking restrictive measures on this subject, until in June, 1868, the emperor called a Conservative ministry, by which measure he provoked a veritable explosion in Parliament.

Pedro II. recurred again to a dissolution, and the same incidents arose when the new Chamber was elected, since they were a natural consequence of the situation that Brazil had created for herself by throwing herself into difficult enterprises in distant countries. In spite of everything the Government was decided

to prosecute with energy the struggle begun with Paraguay, and refused all offers of mediation, nor could the greatest sacrifices make it desist from its purpose. At length the death of President Lopez gave it the victory, but that difficult campaign, which lasted five years, had cost the treasury more than 250,000,000 pesos, not to speak of the blood spilt and the thousands of men who perished far from their beloved country. The ministry, which at that time was charged with the conduct of affairs, promised reforms with regard to the liberation of the slaves, promises that were confirmed in the speech from the throne of 1871, on the opening of the new legislature, and were fulfilled by a law which was passed the same year.

The time was not far distant in which the nation was to pass through many kinds of disturbance. The attitude of the higher clergy, openly incited by the court of Rome to oppose the constitutional laws, produced one of those religious crises the result of which is always to excite men's minds and lead them to intolerance and hatred. Things were carried to such a point that the Government had to intervene against Ultramontanism, and in March, 1874, the High Court condemned the Bishop of Pernambuco to four years' imprisonment. For identical motives the Bishops of Olinda and Pará were arrested and prosecuted, and the Jesuits expelled from the province of Pernambuco. Nothing else was needed to arouse the anger of the Clerical party. In the session of 2nd September, 1874, the Rio Branco Ministry was suddenly attacked by some fanatical deputies, who went so far as to demand its immediate impeachment for treason and conspiracy against the religion of the state. The same ministry had had to suppress an insurrection in the district of San Leopoldo, and the clergy, irritated against it, called it the "*Excommunicated Ministry*" and the "*Freemason Ministry*". The sovereign was undecided, and the Liberals saw with pain that ministry fall, which had fought with so much energy against the unreasonable demands and the machinations of an ignorant and slavish sect, which is the continual menace of the modern nationalities of America. If Brazil cannot escape its fatal influence, all those who desire its prosperity and grandeur must needs regret it very much.

The stain of slavery was still on Brazil, since, although we

have just seen that this had been modified in 1852, after the prohibition of the slave trade, Brazil was the only nation on the South American continent in which it existed. It must be said in praise of Pedro II. that he has declared himself a partisan of emancipation on various occasions, now obliging the great land-owners to enter on this path, now favouring the immigration of 6000 Chinese in order to overcome the difficulties that arose and to provide the labour necessary for agriculture. To his initiative also is owing the bill to abolish slavery in principle and only to continue it temporarily while settling the means by which the slaves would gradually acquire their liberty. From the 28th of September, 1871, when this law was passed, the children born of slave parents were declared free; this could not fail to be an important act, although sentiments of humanity might demand complete liberty. To make the child free without at the same time giving liberty to those who gave it birth, is a defective system, immoral in all cases and contrary to the laws of nature and the family; and the Government will doubtless understand that much is necessary to complete its work.

The important act of the 28th of September was in every way fertile in results, since all the landed proprietors not only accepted it unanimously but its application was made pacifically, and private individuals took the initiative in giving liberty to many slaves and among them the Benedictine order, which emancipated all who belonged to it, numbering 1600. As at that time the emperor was travelling in Europe, it was the duty of the princess regent to assent to this law. The enthusiasm was great in Rio Janeiro; the tribune of the Senate was filled with flowers on the termination of the voting, and the diplomatic body went to congratulate the woman who put her signature at the foot of that philanthropic and righteous document.

The abolition of the negro slave trade directed speculation to a more honourable field, and the employment of capital to more legitimate enterprises; the more important ameliorations that the Brazilian empire now enjoys date from the suppression of that crime. The railways, those life-giving arteries of Industry, Agriculture and Commerce, laid their first rails and soon were established and extended with a species of patriotic ardour; the

electric telegraphs stretched their civilising wires from the great markets of the coast to the fertile fields of the interior, and at the present time the submarine cable has placed Brazil in constant communication with Europe. Many public roads have been made, conveyances are more rapid and commodious, and gas illuminates the towns. Since 1867 the great river Amazon has been open to the commerce of the world, and the admission of the merchant ships of all nations and the free navigation in the Brazilian waters of the great river have exercised a very great influence on the civilisation of those uncultivated regions. The lines of steamers draw closer the relations between the maritime and riverside provinces and towns ; enterprises are multiplied, and the general interest draws its advantage from the competition of private businesses and interests. Public instruction receives new impulses every day and the liberty of teaching enters little by little into the domain of facts. The province of Rio Janeiro, in 1871, made instruction obligatory for children between seven and fourteen years of age, the poor scholars being clothed at the charge of the provincial budget. The higher education has two schools for the faculty of law, two for that of medicine, a military school, another central (in the capital) and another naval. The French astronomer, M. Liais, organised the observatory of Rio Janeiro in 1874 ; and Pedro II., knowing that the future of his empire must rest chiefly on the progress of agriculture, founded two agricultural institutes during his journey through the immense Brazilian provinces ; one at Bahia and the other in Pernambuco and, later, another in the capital in 1860.

In the Universal Exhibition of Paris of 1867 there was no better classified and arranged department than that of Brazil, it being composed of 3558 articles, exhibited by 684 persons, who had been chosen from more than 20,000 who formed the National Exhibition opened at Rio Janeiro in 1866. In 1873 Brazil obtained 202 prizes in the Vienna Exhibition ; another National Exhibition, opened on the 2nd of December, 1875, gave excellent results, and lately the Emperor and Empress of Brazil were present at the opening of the Philadelphia Exhibition, in which universal competition the productions of Brazil were worthily represented. Those which occupy the principal place in inter-

national commerce are coffee, cotton, the cultivation of which has been very considerably developed since 1860 ; sugar, cacao, tobacco, tapioca, hides, etc., etc. Woods of every species abound in the interior, and especially on the banks of the rivers.

Pedro II., who wished to form an opinion for himself of the needs of the country, travelling over it since 1860, desired to take a closer view of European civilisation, and thus has been able to judge of the improvements that might be introduced into Brazil. In December, 1871, he remained for a considerable time in Paris, where he visited the principal scientific and literary institutions. Later, in the last year, he made a long journey through the great capitals of Europe, and showed equal interest in making himself acquainted with all the improvements in human knowledge, giving proofs everywhere of a very uncommon erudition, and being the object of the most cordial reception in all the societies and corporations that he was pleased to visit.

In 1872 he submitted various bills for the consideration of the Chambers, tending to the development of primary instruction, to the establishment of new railways, and to the reform of the electoral law that it might be a truer expression of the will of the people. In his message of 1873 to the Cortes he expressed himself in these terms : "Electoral reform will secure the first condition of our form of government, whose chief strength must emanate from public opinion and the authority of the law".

Reasonable opinion still demands a broader decentralisation for the provinces, it being in every way useful that, to the regulations which sanction it, should be added some measures tending to secure the rights of immigrants, since the good fortune and the future of the country depend, so to say, on the solution of this administrative decentralisation and on European emigration. It must be confessed that the indigenous free population do not work willingly, and labour is almost exclusively in European hands. Unfortunately, the small payment given for manual labour makes the position of foreign workmen precarious ; the field labourers, even the most intelligent, who emigrate with their families, find there an insecure position, since generally the colonist is almost entirely in the power of the proprietor who employs him. The Government, nevertheless, is decided to give

its support to every effort that conduces to make the emigrant who starts for the New World take the road to Brazil. In 1872 it opened an establishment, a sort of refuge, called *Hospedaria do Governo*, which could lodge and maintain 500 persons and gave hospitality to those who arrived without resources and were obliged to wait until work was given them to provide for their maintenance. Every adult over eighteen years of age may obtain gratuitously from 75 to 300 acres of land (two to seven acres) simply by making an application to the Government. Domestic animals are very cheap. A horse costs thirty pesos, a cow twenty, a fat pig two, and a fowl two reals.

Numerous groups of English, Swiss and German colonists have formed a species of separate colonies, which are in a really flourishing condition. Their inhabitants have constructed commodious habitations; some have established manufactures, and others devote themselves to the cultivation of the fields, or make a profit from the forests, and many English miners are employed in working the mines. Unfortunately, many of the emigrants, who, deceived by the false promises of speculators, allow themselves to be taken to Brazil, suffer great disappointment on their arrival; since, in order that colonists may reap some fruit from the cultivation of the soil in a new country, certain requirements which have not been previously communicated to them, are necessary, and very often, if they are not supported during the years that must elapse before they can gather the reward of their labour, their ruin may be considered certain.

To conclude and sum up, we will say what we indicated at the commencement: considering only the nature of the economic problems which are not yet solved, the Empire of Brazil, an old Portuguese colony, has many points of contact with those that were Spanish colonies, and now form the republics of the New World; but looking at them from the political and administrative point of view, it resembles them very little or not at all.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE ARGENTINE CONFEDERATION.

THE Argentine Republic or the River Plate appears to be called to rival the United States of the North some day, not only by the richness of its territory, the most extensive in South America, except Brazil, but also by the activity of its inhabitants, the development of its industry, and the importance of its commerce. Its capital, Buenos Aires, would be the New York of the South if it were not for the political disturbances that are constantly interrupting its agricultural and commercial life ; but it is satisfied with being the American Athens, as it calls itself, proud as it justly is of its men of letters and poets, Mitre, Echevarria, Marmol, Gutierrez, Sarmiento, and many others. We have said that, after Brazil, its territory was the most extensive in South America ; it has a superficies of 2,311,815 square kilometres, and the inhabited part is larger than Spain, France and England. The numerous and important rivers that water it and flow into the Atlantic make communications easy. The La Plata, which gives its name to this country, is one of the finest rivers in the world, its estuary being a small sea widening out from 40 to 300 kilometres ; it runs from north to south, fed by numerous tributaries, among which the Paraná deserves especial notice, ships can ascend it for 300 leagues from the ocean.

This vast region is bounded on the north by Bolivia, on the east by Paraguay, Brazil and Uruguay, on the south by Patagonia, abandoned up to the present time to uncivilised Indians ; it extends from the Cordilleras of Chili, which bound it on the west, to the Atlantic Ocean, on the shores of which it possesses on the south-east 1000 kilometres of coast and various natural harbours. This region may be divided into three distinct parts : the first, enclosed between the Paraná and the Uruguay, which

comprises the provinces of Entre Ríos and Corrientes and the old territory of Missiones, might be called the Argentine Mesopotamia ; the second skirts the chain of the Andes, and includes the mountainous provinces of Mendoza, San Juan, Rioja, Catamarca, Tucuman, Salta and Jujuy. The third, which extends between the two first, over 40,000 square leagues of vast plains and natural pastures, where 15,000,000 cattle, 4,000,000 horses, and 80,000,000 sheep live in complete liberty, is the region of the Pampas, almost perfectly flat, over which a very violent wind called the *Pampero* blows, and in which the view extends over ancient trees and saline plants. The untamed Indian, a terrible enemy, there leads a warlike and wandering life, the indefatigable Gaucho, armed with the lasso, constantly pursues the wild animals ; that region comprises the territory of the Argentine Chaco, the non-mountainous part of the provinces of Santiago del Estero, Córdoba and San Luís, and the whole of Santa Fé and Buenos Aires ; the last is the centre of political and commercial life, and the experimental field of emigration.

The fourteen provinces before-mentioned, form so many independent states, as far as concerns their internal government, and collectively they form the federal republic or Argentine Confederation, the legislative authority of which lies in a Congress composed of two Chambers. The deputies are elected at the rate of one for every 20,000 inhabitants, and the senators by the provincial legislatures. The executive power is in the hands of the president or vice-president, who are appointed for six years, and are only re-eligible after the expiration of the term of the new presidency. Each province chooses special electors, who in their turn elect the persons who are to fill these offices. The federal judicial authority is represented by a Tribunal of Justice appointed to take cognizance of, and to settle the differences between the provinces, and disputes between the authorities of each state.

The regular census of the population, which was taken for the first time in the month of September, 1869, made a total of 1,877,490 inhabitants, including the nomadic Indians of the Chaco, Missiones, the Pampas and Patagonia, reckoned at about 93,000. This population is quadruple of that which existed at the time of emancipation. In 1873 the official documents of the Argentine

Republic show a total of 2,055,000 inhabitants and 100,000 nomadic Indians, the single province of Buenos Aires containing some 700,000 of the former, and the federal city of Buenos Aires 250,000 inhabitants, among whom are reckoned approximately 120,000 Europeans, the majority of whom are Spaniards. The number of foreigners resident in the republic may be taken at 300,000. During the year, 1859, 4715 emigrants disembarked in the port of Buenos Aires; 38,000 in 1870; 70,000 in 1873, and 100,000 in 1874. As a result of this progressive movement, numerous flourishing agricultural colonies have been formed in different parts of the country. Europeans are easily acclimatised in this country, which is very healthy, and the winter may be compared to the spring of the North of Spain. Buenos Aires receives this name from the mildness and excellence of its climate. Few countries are so rich in alimentary and industrial raw materials, and everything would prosper in it if it were not so frequently agitated by political movements that disturb public life, and have an influence on the development of the population.

The numerical data given by statistics and geography clearly demonstrate the disproportion that exists between the lands and the hands devoted to obtaining from them the sources of wealth that lie hidden in this productive region of the new continent, where there are scarcely seventy inhabitants to the square league. The Argentine Republic, in compensation for the immense arid and barren tracts that it contains within its boundaries, presents vast fertile and luxuriant plains which render a generous return to labour if they are carefully worked and improved.

Successive Governments have done much to increase industry and commerce, which would develop themselves and acquire strength under salutary and protective laws—protective in a good sense, which, by attracting immigrants, whose number increases every day, would tend to raise agriculture, not only on the lands which are in themselves favourable to it, but also on the pampas and saline plains, that cover a space 300 leagues long by 180 wide, between the Atlantic, the Rio Dulce and the Colorado. The willow, the elm and every kind of fruit trees would take the place of its soft and abundant turf; plantations would increase continually, and the innumerable herds of wild animals would be replaced by an active and laborious popula-

tion, which would very much facilitate political and commercial relations, carrying civilisation to the uncivilised tribes. Vegetables grow in the neighbourhood of the capital; and although it may seem that the climate would not suit plants of European origin, wheat grows to perfection; and the *durazno*, a sort of apricot, a tree which is thought to have been transplanted from the old continent, gives abundant and certain crops. At a short distance from Buenos Aires the forests disappear, and give place to lands especially suitable by their quality for agriculture.

Commencing now to review the history of this rich and fortunate country, we shall recall to mind that, as we have said, the treaty of El Pilar, signed in 1820, recognised the equality of all the provinces and their right to take part in forming the national government. The defeat of the monarchical party (see p. 111) had been complete; Artigas was not to enjoy his triumph; the rebellion of Ramirez, one of his generals, obliged him to seek refuge in Paraguay, where the dictator Francia relegated him to a village. Resigned to his fate, he devoted himself to agriculture, was like a father to the poor, and died in 1826. Ramirez fell mortally wounded, 10th July, 1821, under the walls of Buenos Aires. On the 21st of the same month a provincial administrative authority was formed, composed of a Minister of War and Marine, Cruz; a Governing Minister, General Rodriguez; a Minister of Home and Foreign Affairs, Rivadavia, and one of Finance, Garcia. Rivadavia, an upright citizen, an able diplomatist and an enlightened administrator, had represented the insurgent provinces of La Plata in Paris and London. All the weight of public business fell upon him. Various decrees referring to the establishment of the representative system, the inviolability of property, the publication of the acts of the Government, the liberty of the press and the laws on civil, political and religious toleration and amnesty, and the law relating to foreigners, are due to his initiative. Public instruction especially engaged his attention. Every district had its elementary school, a university was formed and various schools, a savings bank and a benevolent society, and navigation and the working of the mines were favoured. Buenos Aires was at that time the first city that set the example of suppressing letters of marque, a circumstance worthy of notice.

There was some tranquillity during the years of development. Brazil lost no opportunity of disturbing the peace ; taking advantage of their intestine struggles, it had occupied Montevideo under pretext of re-establishing order, and had annexed the territory, transforming it into the Cisplatine Province (1821). A party resolved to repel at the same time the supremacy of Buenos Aires and of Brazil was formed in Montevideo ; we shall see it triumph later, the old Banda Oriental becoming, after a long war, the Republic of Uruguay.

The independence of the Argentine provinces was a fact that Spain alone disputed. Recognised by the United States of North America in 1823, it was acknowledged, two years later, by England. In 1824 General Las Heras, the old champion of liberty, was elected to succeed Rodriguez.

Rivadavia, at that time provisional governor, proceeded to the installation of the new president, and voluntarily laid down his office. The settlement of the definite form of government was the subject of one of the first discussions of the General Congress of the United Provinces. The constitution of 24th December, 1826, confirmed the system of the union under the name of the Argentine Republic and gave new strength—while appearing to weaken it—to the pretension of Buenos Aires, which aspired to appoint the governors ; nothing more was needed to set the match to the powder magazine. It gave the provinces the right to name three candidates ; but was not able to satisfy them with that. The war, which had been declared for some months between Brazil and Buenos Aires, made new taxes necessary and a call under arms of all citizens between sixteen and forty years of age ; these measures produced serious disturbances in Tucuman and Catamarca.

In the meantime Rivadavia, who had been raised to the supreme magistracy (February, 1821), was the soul of the Congress and the bond of union between the republic and foreign nations ; in the midst of numberless difficulties he had negotiated a loan with Great Britain, and called for and favoured immigration. He fitted out a squadron under the command of the English admiral, Brown, against the Brazilian fleet, which was blockading Buenos Aires ; it defeated the enemy in several actions, but was not able to repulse him completely. The

provinces, unfortunately, did not receive the constitution of 1826 very well, and this created new obstacles for him. Estanislao Lopez in Santa Fé, Bustos in Córdoba and Quiroga in the West, refused to recognise the supremacy of Buenos Aires, endeavouring to maintain the federal system, and the populations, incited by them, refused to send their deputies to the Congress. The Government of Buenos Aires had never found itself in such a critical situation as at the beginning of the year 1827 ; it was, besides, in open hostility with Colombia, or at least with Bolívar, on account of the separation of the provinces of Upper Peru, which were formed into a free state under the name of Bolivia, and whose independence it was not disposed to recognise.

The population of Buenos Aires and of some small provinces was in reality isolated in its conflict with Brazil. The battle of Ituzaingo (20th February) gave the victory to the republican armies ; but although it was possible to hold the imperialists in check, and even to partly conquer them, the political disorganisation of the state and the distress in which the country was plunged did not by any means permit of following them up and gaining a complete victory. Under these circumstances García was appointed to carry proposals of peace to Rio Janeiro ; but, overstepping the instructions he had received, he made a preliminary convention with the empire by which Montevideo with its territory and all the Banda Oriental was ceded to Brazil. This convention excited great irritation in Buenos Aires ; the Government disapproved of it as an attack upon the honour and independence of the nation, and the president, at the same time that he communicated this resolution to Congress, presented also his resignation (28th June).

Rivadavia, an open partisan of the republic one and indivisible, thought that, in the present state of men's minds, his continuing in the presidency was one more obstacle against conciliation. Vicente Lopez, elected provisionally to succeed him, took the oath on the 7th of July, without being able, under such grave circumstances, to form a Cabinet immediately. In the end General Valcárcel consented to accept the Ministry of War, and Anchorena that of Finance. Afterwards, a species of truce was established between the parties ; oblivion of the past was spoken

of, and a great desire was shown to sacrifice their own wishes to the country, and to avenge the insult that the traitor, García, had given to the Argentine flag. By common accord, federals and unitarians desired to continue the war with Brazil. The enthusiasm was immense and indescribable. The president, the ministers and the Government officials gave up part of their salaries; others, like Rivadavia, undertook to triple, during all the time the war lasted, the imports that fell to their charge. Private subscriptions flowed into the treasury, the women offered their jewels, and all, as far as their means allowed, contributed to encourage men's minds and alleviate the precarious state of the national finances. The republic gave to all the constituent states a generous example of patriotism and abnegation which is seldom seen. The enthusiasm was communicated to the separatist provinces, and this crisis produced the salutary effect of disposing men's minds to conciliation; thanks to the prudent firmness of Colonel Dorrego, who was elected by the federalists, the city of Buenos Aires voluntarily renounced being the capital and centre of government of the republic. A federal diet met in Santa Fé, to continue the negotiations with Brazil, and showed itself equally decided to make what sacrifices were necessary to suitably support the honour of the nation. The two belligerent countries felt equally the necessity of putting an end to a state of things so disastrous for both powers. A treaty of peace was made on the 27th of August, and was ratified on the 26th of September, by Congress at Santa Fé. Brazil, already fatigued by a conflict of ten years, abandoned her prey, and the countries which were the objects of the strife, being invited to proceed without delay to the election of their deputies, met in a constituent assembly, and proclaimed the independence of Montevideo and the Banda Oriental.

But at the same time, the divisions between the parties broke out afresh, and they recommenced the struggle. The unitarians under the influence of Lavalle, the conqueror of Ituzaingo, demanded the supremacy of Buenos Aires with the republic one and indivisible. Dorrego held the reins of government with a firm hand; he had had the good fortune to reconcile Buenos Aires with the provinces, and the happiness of carrying out the glorious peace of the 27th of August; but his position as a

federalist was sufficient for Buenos Aires to show hostility to him. The return of the army added to the complication of the situation. On the 1st of December, Lavalle, at the head of a division, seized the Government palace, and, seconded by Admiral Brown, had himself appointed provisional dictator of the state by the notables assembled in the town hall. Dorrego marched to Santa Fé, and demanded the support of the federal Congress; Lavalle pursued and overtook him, and commanded him to be shot (9th December); this abominable and barbarous crime was the signal for a general rising. Congress declared the assassin, Lavalle, an outlaw, and he replied by a declaration of war; at the end of 1828 the republic was given up to all the horrors of anarchy. During the two following years the struggle between federalists and unitarians continued with fury, the former obeying Lopez and Quiroga, and the latter, Lavalle. The federalists received a considerable reinforcement consisting of a band of Gauchos,<sup>1</sup> devoted to a personage who was soon to acquire a terrible notoriety, Don Juan Manuel Ortiz de Rosas.

Rosas was at that time thirty-five years old; he had passed his youth on the estates of his family among the Gauchos, those half-savage shepherds. He had strongly marked features, lively and penetrating blue eyes, red and white complexion like a European, and tall stature like a Gaucho. He appeared for the first time on the political stage in 1820, at the head of his *colorados*, as an auxiliary of Rodriguez and the unitarian party; seven years later he raised his rustic troop again, but this time to aid the federalists.

<sup>1</sup> This name is given to the shepherds who, in the depths of the Pampas, keep the immense flocks and herds belonging to the planters who are settled in the republic, or to the aborigines. The Gaucho is suspicious and crafty, as if the distant horizon and the vegetation which lie before his eyes gave a profound sensitiveness to his nature. Ignorant of family affection, and far from civilisation, patriotism and friendship are virtues unknown to him. Sitting on his heels, with his knife stuck in the ground ready to kill the man who cheats at play, and with the bridle of his horse tied to its legs, he sets everything he possesses on the hazard of a card. Accustomed to slaughter animals, he sheds the blood of his fellows with the utmost indifference. He will never steal money, but he thinks he has the right to appropriate the best horse that suits him. The Gaucho is hospitable and discreet; he will never ask his guest whence he comes nor where he is going, although he may remain for many months in his hut.

Dorrego had made him a general. When he learnt the tragical end of his chief he hastened with his troop of Gauchos, gave battle to Lavalle, and succeeded in putting him to disgraceful flight. The federalists saluted him as a saviour, and on the 8th of December, 1829, he was appointed governor and captain-general of Buenos Aires. In 1831 Lavalle took the offensive in the province of Entre Ríos, and was defeated at the same time that Paz was beaten in the province of Córdoba. This double misfortune was a mortal blow for the unitarians, and the provinces of Córdoba, Corrientes, Mendoza and Santiago del Estero had already adhered to the federal compact when Rosas opened the legislature of 1832. It was stipulated that each state should preserve complete independence in internal affairs, and that the direction of foreign affairs and matters of war, common to the whole of the republic, should be delegated to the governor of Buenos Aires. On taking authority Rosas said with great frankness: " You have chosen me to govern according to my ability and conscience, and I obey. My convictions will be my guide, and it will be my duty to make them prevail."

The unitarians, who were beaten up as in a sort of hunt of human beings, gave proofs of indomitable obstinacy. Rosas employed all the resources of despotism to exterminate them; and the press, which was gagged, was silent before the arbitrary measures of himself and his lieutenants; the soldiers gave no quarter, and the bullies who were organised in bands followed and chastised those who were suspected. It is to be noted that from that time all documents bore the following epigraph: " Long live the Argentine Confederation. Death to the unitarian savages!" The generals who had seconded Rosas filled him with a vague unquietness. Quiroga was assassinated in the neighbourhood of Córdoba; Lopez, of Santa Fé, invited to go to Buenos Aires, died of a mysterious malady; and Cullen, his brother-in-law, was condemned to death, as also were the generals Reinafé and Heredia. A campaign skilfully carried on against the Indians of the Southern Pampas, which put an end to their incursions into the territories of Buenos Aires, came in time to increase the prestige of Rosas. The multitude, who decidedly saw in him a hero and a man sent by Providence, threw themselves into his arms and made him dictator.

The assassination of Quiroga, whom it was desired to make pass for a unitarian, excited, and with reason, popular indignation. On the 8th of March, 1835, the day after the representation of a parliamentary comedy skilfully planned beforehand, the Chamber of Buenos Aires put *all public authority* into the hands of Rosas, with the title of governor and captain-general of the province, for five years. The dictator had not yet gained his object, and a plebiscite was necessary to confirm the election. A state entry was arranged for him, the idolatrous multitude drew his carriage, the frenzied Gauchos bore him in triumph, and the blessings and thanksgivings of the clergy filled the air.

Such was the beginning of a dictatorship that lasted until 1852 and was able to hold England and France in check. Every five years, at the expiration of his term of office, Rosas hypocritically begged the Chamber, taking into consideration his weak state of health, to allow him to return to rural life by relieving him of the heavy weight of government; but, far from that, they granted him new honours, which he accepted with *the heavy weight of government*. The Gauchos admiringly called him the Washington of the South.

Laborious, clear-sighted, and always attentive, he saw everything and managed everything; the army, police, finances, diplomacy, administration and the press. The treaties of 1829 made the governor of Buenos Aires the representative of the states of La Plata with foreign powers, who learnt to know Rosas in the famous "affair of La Plata," which aggrandised him in the eyes of the Americans and so much occupied the European nations. The French Government had hastened to acknowledge the independence of the old Spanish colonies, but Rosas refused to receive one of its diplomatic agents on the ground that he had given offence to Chili. In Uruguay President Oribe, attacked by Ribera, who had made common cause with Lavalle, accepted the interested help of Rosas, notwithstanding the protests of the European ambassadors. The arbitrary imprisonment of a foreign citizen was the cause of the blockade of Buenos Aires in 1838 by a fleet from Cherbourg. The dictator stood firm and set himself up as the defender of American independence against the usurpation of the old continent.

In the meantime Ribera expelled Oribe and declared war

against Buenos Aires ; Lavalle incited the Argentine people to rise ; Corrientes and Entre Ríos took up arms against the dictator ; and Rosas, threatened on all sides, redoubled his cruelties against his adversaries, and went so far as to have seventy persons shot in one day. His lieutenants showed themselves more cruel and ferocious, if possible, than their chief. In Santiago del Estero the governor, Ibarra, made his name for ever hated in the whole district. The conferences lasted two years. At length Vice-Admiral Mackau signed a treaty with Rosas on the 29th of October, 1840, an indemnity being promised to those who had been wronged ; but the states which were the late allies of the Europeans were abandoned and exposed to the vengeance of Rosas.

Lavalle, defeated 16th November in Santa Fé, was afterwards defeated in Lujan, and at length, being surprised in Jujuy, was shot (1841). Oribe expelled the unitarian general, Paz, from Uruguay, and his victories in the provinces of Santa Fé and Córdoba were followed by a series of assassinations and outrages. On the anniversary of the election of Rosas his followers went through the streets, and falling upon those persons who were suspected to belong to the vanquished party, pitilessly slaughtered them. The unitarians, being defeated in all parts, Brown received orders to blockade Montevideo ; while Oribe, refusing the mediation of England and France, invaded Uruguay, laying siege to the capital by land.

Rosas had for some time conceived the idea of annexing the Oriental republic to the Argentine Confederation, and Oribe zealously seconded his ambitious views. Montevideo, defended by General Paz, had some foreign legions in its service, and among them an Italian legion under the command of Garibaldi ; but in spite of everything the city would have fallen if the refusal of the intervention of the ambassadors by Rosas, who declined to suspend hostilities, had not given occasion to the blockade of Buenos Aires, on the 18th of September, 1845, by the English and French fleets, which forced the passage of the Paraná, free entrance to which had always been refused to foreign ships. This armed intervention was founded on three powerful reasons —the interests of commerce, the protection due to foreigners and the co-operation of Brazil, which was afterwards withdrawn.

Montevideo and Buenos Aires had an increasing number of Europeans among their inhabitants, and there is no doubt that, appealing to the two great interests of commerce and humanity, these gained more advantages by obtaining peace than continuing the war. The result of the negotiations opened with Rosas by the allied powers was the signature of conventions in 1849, in which the free navigation of the Paraná, the *status quo ante bellum* and the independence of the Oriental Republic were stipulated. The French National Assembly refused to ratify the treaty which was made in the name of the Republic, and in 1851 it was agreed to send an expeditionary corps of marines to the waters of the Atlantic.

The tyranny of Rosas was nearing its end. The dictator, who had been able to make head against two European powers of the first rank, fell before an insurrection of the provinces, supported by Brazil, which saw with suspicion the time arriving when it would have him for a neighbour. His tyranny and his obstinacy in negotiations, which, by causing the blockade of the Argentine ports, interfered with the commerce of La Plata and perpetuated the war with Montevideo, had at last wearied his own generals. Justo José de Urquiza, the governor of Entre Ríos, having been twice sent to pacify the cities that had risen, at last embraced their cause. Urquiza, a simple Gaucho sprung from the ranks of the people, owed his elevation to his strength of character and superior intelligence. He began his military career under the command of Rosas, who appointed him governor of Entre Ríos in 1842, and distinguished himself against Ribera in Uruguay. Had he at length perceived the crafty policy of Rosas? Did he see that he was using his patriotism for the furthering of a personal ambition? Whether this were so or not he turned against the dictator, issuing an eloquent manifesto against his bad faith, when the latter wished in 1851 to renew the usual comedy of his abdication. Urquiza solicited and obtained the alliance of Brazil, Paraguay, Corrientes and Uruguay, forcing Oribe to capitulate on 8th October, and relieving Montevideo from its besiegers. On the 8th of January, 1852, "el grande ejército libertador de la América del Sur" crossed the Paraná and marched against Buenos Aires, following the bank of the river. Rosas saw the danger; proclaimed Urquiza *a traitor*,

*madman and unitarian savage*; demanded a new investiture from the Chamber of Representatives, and getting himself declared exempt from all his duties, ordinary as well as extraordinary, he concentrated his forces, which amounted to 25,000 men, around the capital, to face the liberating army of 20,000 men. Such numerous forces had never met face to face nor come to action in South America. The battle of Monte Caseros (3rd February, 1852) ended in a few hours the long domination of the chief of the Gauchos. Rosas had time to fly; an English steamer landed him in Ireland, with his daughter Manuelita, on the 26th of April. He afterwards settled in Southampton, where he learnt in 1861 that the tribunal of Buenos Aires had condemned him to death.

The Government created by Rosas had lasted twenty years. Although he had been raised to power by the federalists, he had not always respected the rights of the provinces. The principal cause of his fall was the lion's share of the products of the Custom House, made by his policy, even in the capital, rather than the tyrannical measures to which he had recourse in order to support his authority. Rivadavia, the direct product of modern revolutionary ideas, endeavoured to make unity the basis of liberty; Rosas, the executioner of the unitarians, centralised everything, and made the weight of his despotic hand felt over the country submissive to his will.

Urquiza entrusted the administration of Buenos Aires to the old and esteemed Doctor Lopez, and convoked a constituent assembly in Santa Fé, in which the province of Buenos Aires, tenacious of its exaggerated pretensions to preponderance and political supremacy, which were kept alive by the newspapers and meetings, which endeavoured to maintain the unitarian ardour, had no representative. Lopez gave in his resignation, and General Pinto, president of the Chamber of Buenos Aires, took power provisionally. Urquiza arrived and dissolved the Chamber, and by a dictatorial act, entrusted the Government to one of his generals, who was overthrown shortly after by a popular movement which declared the city free, and appointed Valentin Alsina captain-general on the 30th of October, 1852. The country rose against the city, demanding its immediate incorporation in the confederation; the soldiers took up arms, laying siege to

Buenos Aires, and blockading its port, in union with Urquiza, who at the same time signed a treaty with France and England, which secured the free navigation of the Argentine rivers. Want of union in the besieging troops, the attitude of the fleet which fraternised with the population, and the unanimous resistance of the natives, as well as of the Europeans, obliged Urquiza to retire precipitately, and give up an attempt openly condemned by the national feeling. He offered his resignation to Congress, which refused to accept it.

The Congress had voted the constitution promulgated on the 1st of May, 1853, and delegated the executive authority to Urquiza. Peace was an absolute necessity. The new president established the Government in Paraná, whither the foreign representatives followed it, and recognised the province of Buenos Aires as forming a state apart, separated from the rest of the confederation, with a national representation in two Chambers, and a Government elected every three years. The relations between the two separate factions of the Argentine family preserved a hostile tendency until the signature of the treaties of 20th December, 1854, and 8th January, 1855, which succeeded in re-establishing confidence and assuring public credit. The dissentient state received the diplomatic and consular agents of friendly powers and of the federal Government itself, who were sent as a proof of the respect due to the conventions and to the preponderance acquired by Buenos Aires, which, under the enlightened, tolerant and energetic administration of Doctor Obligado, constructed sumptuous edifices, its monumental custom house, theatres and palaces, illuminated its streets with gas, and opened railways, while the Argentine Confederation, under the presidency of Urquiza, saw order and prosperity return, and its commerce and industry acquire a great development. The plan of the railway, which was to join Córdoba and Rosario, was studied, and the geographical and statistical works of the confederation were undertaken; the rivers of the interior were explored, and numerous agricultural colonies were being formed or settled in the provinces of Santa Fé and Entre Ríos.

In the meantime Urquiza did not lose the hope of forming the federal compact again; but the negotiations opened with this object found no echo in Buenos Aires. This city was then

accused of wishing to regain its lost empire, to be the centre of monopoly, and to repel the ideas of free navigation and commerce. Some modifications of its international relations resulted from this, of which the Government of Paraná took advantage to abandon the pacific attitude which it had hitherto preserved. On the 18th of March, 1856, it denounced the treaty of 1854, and by a later law established differential duties on imports, which directly injured the commerce of Buenos Aires. This caused great irritation, and, in consequence, the relations between the two states became strained. In May, 1859, various movements demanding the voluntary or forcible union of Buenos Aires with the confederation took place in the provinces; both parties set their national guards on a war footing, and although the foreign ambassadors made offers of mediation Buenos Aires refused all accommodation, and entrusted its defence to General Mitre, who was defeated by Urquiza. The battle of Cepeda, gained by the federal troops on 23rd October, was followed by a treaty, in virtue of which Buenos Aires entered anew to form part of the confederation (11th November, 1859). Urquiza, when his presidential term was ended, ceded the authority to Doctor Santiago Derqui. On the 1st of May following Mitre was appointed governor of Buenos Aires, and on the occasion of the celebration of peace between the various states of the confederation the national rejoicings brought together in that capital, on the 9th of July, President Derqui, General Urquiza, and General Mitre, who received the title of brigadier-general of the nation.

The Argentine union had scarcely been formed when a rebellion broke out in the province of San Juan; the governor, Virasoro, was assassinated, with five of his friends; Doctor Aberastein, elected to occupy his post, fell into the hands of Colonel Sáa, who was sent to punish the revolt, and was shot. This summary execution excited indignation in the state of Buenos Aires, and Mitre, wearied of asking for the disapprobation and punishment of the act of Colonel Sáa from the president Derqui, applied to Congress. This subject was complicated by the quashing by the Argentine Chamber of the election of the deputies for Buenos Aires, which took place under the provincial and not under the federal law. At this time a terrible earthquake completely destroyed Mendoza.

Buenos Aires made the admission of its deputies a *casus belli*, suppressing the monthly payment to the treasury of the 100,000 duros from 1st May, 1861, in order to preserve the usufruct of its custom house ; on the other hand, the federal authority presented various restrictive claims. The interminable conflict between the right of the state and the rights of the different provinces, between unitarians and federalists, broke out more lively and ardent than ever.

After exhausting all means of conciliation Urquiza, general-in-chief of the forces of the Argentine Confederation, and Mitre, at the head of the troops of Buenos Aires, began the campaign ; but this time Urquiza, discontented with the policy of his successor, did not undertake the struggle willingly, and while he prepared for it as a matter of form, he negotiated secretly with the opposing general. The latter, who was the conqueror on the 17th of September, 1861, at Pabon, thanks to the Italian legion commanded by the ex-Garibaldian, Piloni, invaded the province of Santa Fé and penetrated to Rosario with 12,000 men, after receiving effective demonstrations of adhesion on the part of the province of Córdoba. Urquiza, from the beginning of the struggle, had returned to his usual residence at San José, this unexpected retirement causing the dissolution of the Argentine army, which, deserted by its officers, without provisions, baggage or munitions, had to undergo untold sufferings during its long retreat. Reduced to impotence, President Derqui solicited the hospitality of an English steamer and took refuge in Montevideo ; a few months later Mitre signed a peace with Urquiza, who remained governor of Entre Ríos.

On the 1st of May, 1862, Mitre opened the new provincial legislature in Buenos Aires, and in his message addressed to the representatives he celebrated the triumph of the Liberal party, the re-establishment of peace, the increasing prosperity of commerce, the satisfactory condition of the finances, the construction of new railways, and the material and administrative progress. Elected president of the Argentine Republic, the chief of the conquering party entered upon the exercise of his powers in the month of October, and the city of Buenos Aires became again the seat of government by a provisional convention.

Internal peace being guaranteed, new complications arose

abroad ; the three republics of La Plata—the Argentine Confederation, Uruguay and Paraguay—found themselves engaged in quarrels, in which the neighbouring empire of Brazil did not delay to interfere ; quarrels which, unfortunately, they could not settle, and which terminated in a general and sanguinary war. The three republics were always jealous of one another. Buenos Aires was constantly working against the independence of its rival, Montevideo. The Argentines had not given up the idea of drawing Uruguay into their sphere of action and of forming a single state, of which Paraguay, also, would be an integral part. From this desire arose the efforts of the parties who came into power in Buenos Aires, to further, in Montevideo, the success of the ideas which showed most affinity with their own. Events were thus developing when the insurrection of Flores against the Government Oriental of Banda took place and which emanated from Buenos Aires, where its partisans had been organised. Disputes about the boundaries of its territory were a continual menace on the part of the Government of Paraguay. In 1864 underhand projects of territorial aggrandisement were the cause of an agreement between the Cabinets of Buenos Aires and Rio Janeiro against Uruguay. Paraguay, thinking that the equilibrium of the states of La Plata was threatened, protested against any armed intervention of Brazil in the internal affairs of Montevideo ; this protest caused a general conflagration, and gave the sad spectacle of an empire, dreaded for the extent of its territory and its power, labouring to throw into conflict, which is always prejudicial, three republics which should always be united and give themselves mutual help. The triple alliance, which was formed against Paraguay, or rather against its president, Lopez, who was described as a despot and tyrant, was signed on the 3rd of May, 1865. Mitre, who does not deserve on this, as on other occasions, our disinterested praise, was appointed generalissimo of the allied troops. His first care was to repulse the Paraguayan invasion, after which the allies, whose plan was to modify the government established in Paraguay, followed Lopez into his own territory.

We already know what this struggle was, which we have related in other chapters. Engaged in a war that did not, nor could, deserve the sympathies of Chili and Peru, the Argentine

Republic had to fight against a long series of internal disturbances. Urquiza exercised a dictatorship in Entre Ríos almost independent of the Federal Government of Buenos Aires; the provinces on the right bank of the Paraná endeavoured to break the federal compact by force of arms, and the Indians did not cease to devastate the territory. The legislature of Buenos Aires openly censured the continuation of hostilities, and recruiting for the army was carried on with great difficulty.

Nevertheless, the presidential message of 6th May, 1866, was congratulatory on the progress of emigration from Europe, which had procured a contingent of 4780 persons for the country, and noted a rise of 18 per cent. in the imports in 1865 and a considerable increase in the exportation of raw wool. The financial crisis was none the less threatening. Fifteen months' pay was due to one of the army corps sent against Paraguay. Mitre took with him some 4000 Argentines—more than half of the contingent—giving, on his return, new vigour to the operations carried on against the rebels.

In the midst of these grave events the cholera, which broke out on the battle-fields of Paraguay, scoured Buenos Aires for the first time, and political life ceased before its frightful ravages, giving way to the power of so terrible an enemy. Mitre, desirous of advancing military affairs, again set out for Paraguay on 22nd July, 1868; the troops employed in the pacification of the provinces had returned to the country since the month of June, and the Argentine contingent was reduced to some 8000 men. The insurrection in the provinces of the Andes was scarcely suppressed in one part when it broke out with greater violence in another. In La Rioja the Government was overthrown fifteen times in seven months. In Entre Ríos, Urquiza, the largest landed proprietor of the district and absolute master of the country, preserved an enigmatical attitude. Buenos Aires, terrified, expelled the municipal authorities, when the cholera reappeared at the end of the year more threatening than ever.

The Federal Government was broken up by all this; the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Elizalde—the warmest partisan, after Mitre, of the Brazilian alliance—finding himself in complete disaccord with Paz, had tendered his resignation at the same time as the Minister of Justice. The summary of the year 1867

was certainly sad ; war, disagreements with Chili, insubordination in the provinces, a financial and industrial crisis, and a violent epidemic were the principal occurrences of that period.

A fact peculiar, so to say, to all our rising republics is worthy of notice. Even in the midst of this chaos the population increases rapidly, European emigration, especially Spanish, is considerable, there is great activity in the port of Buenos Aires, and the general commerce reaches the amount of 100,000,000 pesos ; various railways are working and others in course of construction ; an electric telegraph unites Montevideo with Buenos Aires ; many roads are planned and schools are founded ; and the confederation, which takes part in various exhibitions, obtains in them well-merited rewards. At the beginning of 1868 the death of the vice-president placed Mitre at the head of affairs. On the 12th of October he resigned the presidentship to Doctor Sarmiento, who had been elected on the 12th of June and who, as a publicist, had attacked the tyranny of Rosas in the press and been present at the battle of Monte Caseros as chief of the staff of Urquiza. Later, as inspector-general of schools, he had given a great impulse to popular education and endowed the capital with important scholastic foundations. Senator and minister in 1860, he asked for and obtained 5,000,000 pesos for the schools, which permitted him to plant the germs of civilisation even in the Pampas ; he took the first steps to introduce the telegraphic service, the survey and valuation of land, and the clearing of the immense Landes. When he was governor of San Juan in 1862 he founded in the country a small school and a public library, and when the election to the presidentship fell upon him he was the representative of the republic with the Government of the United States. One of his books ends with these words : "Without instruction liberty is not possible," and bears as a motto : "Found schools and you will do away with revolutions". Sarmiento put in practice these just expressions, he has worked without ceasing, and in every way for the advancement of his country, and has always endeavoured expressly to favour the education of the people.

On 3rd February, 1870, the anniversary of the battle of Monte Caseros, Urquiza received the new president on his estate of San Juan with brilliant *fêtes*, in order to show in this way his

adhesion to the national government. This turn in a conciliatory sense of the old and esteemed federalist caused a profound irritation in those who were accustomed to recognise him as their head. Two months later, at nightfall of a day in April, he was assassinated in his own house. At the same time Lopez Jordan raised a rebellion in Concepcion and entered the House of Legislature, where, through fear, the deputies proclaimed him president. Sarmiento sent troops against Entre Rios; Lopez Jordan awaited them firmly, prolonging the contest until the following year, in which it was ended by the defeat and flight to Brazil of the last of the chiefs. The old Gaucho party, that now relies only on the retrograde and antiliberal element, did not consider itself as finally conquered; and although there is no reason for its existence in the present state of political and social development of the republic, it has continued its agitations in these latter times. In 1873 Lopez Jordan, who had appeared again in Entre Rios, maintained the campaign until the month of December, in which his army was completely destroyed.

The intrepid President of Paraguay had been killed in one of the last combats, on 1st March, 1870; on the 20th of June of the same year a treaty was signed between Brazil and the Argentine Republic on one part, and Paraguay, annihilated, ruined and completely devastated, on the other; but very soon the Argentine statesmen were convinced of the fault they committed by undertaking such an unreasonable war. The conquerors could not agree on the question of the boundaries of Paraguay, and diplomatic relations were broken off between them. The Argentine Legation, recalled by the Cabinet of Buenos Aires, left Rio Janeiro on 30th September, 1871. Were the late allies about to come to blows? Everything seemed to forecast this when, at the end of 1872, Mitre, commissioned to open negotiations with the Empire, came to a friendly arrangement. How long will it last? It is difficult to answer this question, but the confederation will have to support for a long time the weight of the fratricidal war with Paraguay, and it may well be that a war with Brazil will result, which would be terrible and disastrous for both states. On the other hand, Patagonia appears destined to be a continual cause of discord between Chili and the Argentine Republic.

Patagonia, on the west, is simply a continuation of Chili, which is determined to colonise all the territory which extends between the Pacific and the Andes as far as the regions of intense cold. The Argentine Republic claims the possession of its central part, which is the most considerable, inasmuch as the plain extends from the foot of the Cordilleras to the Atlantic, and perhaps with some right, since this vast region, wandered over rather than inhabited by the Patagonians, was included in the viceroyalty of Buenos Aires; but it is a fact that, when the Argentine Congress described Patagonia in 1873, calling it "the region included between the Rio Negro, the Atlantic, the Andes and the Straits of Magellan," and ordered its colonisation, the Chilian Government energetically protested against it.

A terrible scourge, the yellow fever, spread terror in Buenos Aires at the beginning of 1871. The custom house, the bank and all public buildings were closed. On the 30th of April, when a period of about 100 days had elapsed, 26,000 souls had already perished, victims of the epidemic which devastated the city. In the same year the Congress settled the question of the capital, which had been in suspense for a long time, by declaring that the Government should abandon Buenos Aires and fix its seat at Villa María, between Rosario and Córdoba; but the president put his veto on this project, for the reason that the seat of government in that town would be exposed to serious danger as long as the war with the state of Entre Ríos continued. At the same time (15th October) a great national exhibition was opened in Córdoba, which marked a new era in the annals of the agricultural and industrial development of the republic.

Sarmiento's term of office ended in 1874. His last message to Congress is a consolatory statement of the condition of the country. The increase in the receipts of the treasury had advanced rapidly every year, in material as well as intellectual affairs, as is plainly shown by the development of popular education and postal correspondence; the increase in immigration; the great consumption of paper, that so exactly gives the measure of the intellectual movement of the country; the progress in means of communication in all parts of the territory; and, lastly, the extent of country covered by telegraphic lines.

In 1868 the receipts of the treasury amounted to 12,000,000

pesos, and in 1873 rose to nearly 22,000,000. At the same date (1868) the number of immigrants was 39,000, increasing to 80,000 in 1873. In 1868 the post-office distributed 4,000,000 letters and printed matter; in 1873 the figures were 7,787,400 over a distance of 81,000 leagues, 1,000,000 letters being delivered by the postmen alone. In 1870 6400 telegrams were transmitted over a line of 129 miles; in 1873 there were 170,079 telegrams, and the length of wires 2618 miles. The children who attended the schools in 1868 were a little over 1000; in 1873 more than 4000. In 1852, the date of the fall of Rosas, twenty public schools were assisted from the funds of the state of Buenos Aires, those established in the interior being much fewer. At present there are 1117 public free schools. In 1868 San Juan was the only province that had a public library, obtained through the efforts of Sarmiento, and when he gave up the presidentship there were 140 libraries, some being found in the most obscure villages. Four steamers a month left for Europe in 1868; at present one leaves Buenos Aires every two days for the old continent. In 1868 the importation of paper did not reach 12,000 reams annually. In 1872 and 1873 it amounted to 200,000 reams. There were 5630 machines in aid of labour in 1868, and about 70,000 in 1873.

Speaking of public works, the message enumerated the buildings carried out in Buenos Aires for the national Government; those containing pay offices, the laboratories of chemistry and physics annexed to the national college, and more recent buildings for the offices of the master of the port, the telegraphs and the post. In Rosario and Santa Fé a national college, a telegraph house and a custom house were built; in Córdoba an observatory and an academy of sciences. The president took pleasure in pointing out the progress of architecture in the towns and their suburbs and in the villages: "On our lines of railway and the banks of our rivers the numerous chimneys of our foundries now rise. Does not this sight give a good idea of the development of our industries?"

The presidential election in 1874 was warmly contested. Doctor Nicolás Avellaneda, the winner in the election in April, had Mitre for a competitor. His installation took place on the 12th of October under somewhat critical circumstances. Mitre

did not accept the result of the voting, believing that there had been fraud and violence; he placed himself at the head of a military insurrection, fomented and directed by the party that called itself constitutional, and which, beaten at the ballot-boxes, senselessly took up arms, and marched at the head of his troops towards Buenos Aires; other chiefs, Arredondo, Rivas and Borges, joined him, and on the 6th of November the insurgent flotilla cast anchor in sight of the port. The Government forces, under the command of Sarmiento, gained the victory; Mitre surrendered, Arredondo was defeated, and the province of Buenos Aires was completely pacified by December.

Peace seemed to be assured when a tragical event occurred.

When the new president, Nicolás Avellaneda, came into power some old pretensions were revived. The Jesuits, the active agents of the oppressor during the war of independence, had fled from Buenos Aires at the same time as the Spaniards. The state had converted the establishments deserted by them into academies and hospitals; the reverend fathers, on returning quietly to the republic, took good care not to arouse suspicion, patiently awaiting the arrival of a favourable time to gain their ends. But when Avellaneda was elected they suddenly threw off the mask, relying on the protection of him, who was no less a friend of the Company than the Archbishop Eneiro. The clerical passions were aroused, violent attacks against "the robbers of the clergy, the Liberals, the Freemasons," etc., were launched from the pulpit, and at length the archbishop formally demanded the restitution of the real estate which was converted into state property in 1816. The public was greatly excited at such an impudent request. On 1st March, 1875, the students marched with a banner bearing this motto :—

#### A PROTEST AGAINST THE JESUITS,

and, presenting themselves before the house of these fathers, begged permission to pass through its courts, considering it as national property. The door was opened. The student carrying the banner, a youth of twenty years of age, named Luzini, stepped first over the threshold, when the Jesuits, treacherously hidden, rushed upon him, threw him to the ground, and cut off his head with the sharp blades of their knives and daggers. The comrade

who followed him fell pierced in the breast, a third received a frightful stab in the stomach, others also rolled bleeding to the ground. The multitude, beside themselves, broke loose, and threw themselves on the assassins, killing them on the spot ; they entered the building with fire and sword, and then, with shouts of *Death to the Jesuits*, the people marched to the archbishop's palace, which was thoroughly searched ; but the ultramontane prelate had fled, and it was impossible to find him anywhere. Such are the deeds that, not being yet well known in our America, can only be mentioned here. It can only make us reflect that, in time, ultramontanism might become the plague of the South American republics. If the Argentine Confederation does not hasten to imitate Brazil, cutting the root of the evil, the Jesuits will exhaust her strength ; let her think of the fate of the nations which have been subjected to clerical influence and learn that its breath is as prejudicial to the liberty as to the greatness of nations.

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE ORIENTAL REPUBLIC OF URUGUAY.

WE have previously stated that Montevideo, equally with Paraguay and Chuquisaca, protested against the insurrectionary movement of the states of the Rio de la Plata, intending to remain loyal to the mother country, for which it was besieged by the Argentines; that if it soon came to an agreement, this was of short duration, being again besieged in 1814, and after an heroic defence had to capitulate in the middle of June, Uruguay or Banda Oriental falling at last into the hands of Artigas, an Argentine general, who held power there for some years; and that in 1821 this republic was partly subdued by Brazil, until it rose against this empire in 1825, and after a long struggle of three years succeeded in having its independence recognised by the treaty of Rio Janeiro, signed on the 27th of August, 1828, and ratified in Santa Fé on the 4th of October of the same year.

The old province of the viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata, on being definitely separated from the Argentine territory, and at the same time free from the domination of Brazil, endeavoured to organise itself immediately, and for this end it elected deputies, who, having met in a constituent assembly, appointed General Rondeau provisional president, an old combatant of Peru, and one of the most influential men in Buenos Aires, and on the 18th of July, 1830, they proclaimed the constitution. According to the articles of this code the Government of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay was composed of a president, who was elected by the two Chambers united, and whose authority lasted for four years, assisted by four ministers, namely, those of the Interior, of Foreign Affairs, of Finance, and of War and Marine. The president was only re-eligible after the expiration of his successor's term of office. The legislative authority was exercised by two

Chambers, the Senate, presided over by the vice-president of the republic, and the Congress of Deputies.

Special judges exercised the judicial authority, there being three categories in their jurisdiction, the first corresponding to the tribunals of first instance, the second to courts of appeal, and the third to courts of cassation. The last, which forms the High Court of Justice, is composed of five judges, and appoints a part of the magistrates of the inferior courts. Criminal causes and offences of the press are subject to the jurisdiction of the jury.

Uruguay is the smallest state of South America, since its superficies is not more than 112,000 square kilometres; but it is not the least important from the point of view of its commercial transactions. Its population, which, according to the official census of 1865 did not reach 350,000 inhabitants, amounts, according to recent calculations, which we must consider correct, to some 500,000. This is not surprising if we take into account the large immigration of Europeans which has taken place during the last few years, especially of Spaniards, Italians, French, English and Germans. Its capital, Montevideo, the dreaded and powerful rival of Buenos Aires, its opposite neighbour, has at present more than 106,000 inhabitants, and is a city admirably situated between the wide estuary of the River Plate and the Atlantic Ocean, and at its commodious port, where there is room for more than 200 vessels, almost all the steamers going to Buenos Aires call. The streets of Montevideo are broad and straight, with good side-walks; the houses generally have but one storey, and are very commodious and of good appearance. There is a large square in which are the most beautiful edifices, the principal being the town-house, the cathedral, the prison, etc. More than a third part of its inhabitants are Europeans, and of these the majority are Spaniards and Italians. Montevideo is a bishop's see, and in it reside the consular bodies of almost all the powers. This republic has always given great importance to instruction, which is pretty general, since there is no town, however unimportant, which has not at least one primary school supported by Government, and the capital contains a university, a school of medicine and anatomy of recent creation, and many other scientific and literary institutions. The commerce of Montevideo is very important and increases daily; it consists in the exportation of

hides, wool, tobacco, ostrich feathers, etc., and the importation of flour, beverages and textile fabrics. The climate, although it is severe in winter and in summer suffocatingly hot, is very healthy; it had never been attacked by any epidemic until 1857, when the yellow fever made great ravages.

This small but important republic, the object of the continual pretensions of Brazil, which bounds it on the north, and of the Argentine Confederation, from which it is separated by the river Uruguay on the west, is bathed on the south and east by the River Plate and the Atlantic. Its geographical position is eminently favourable to the development of its wealth, since the greater part of its frontiers are formed by the sea and large rivers navigable by ships of the greatest burden. Wool and hides, as in the Argentine Confederation, form the staple industry of the country, which is divided into thirteen provinces or departments—Salto, Paysandú, Soriano, Colonia, San José, Montevideo, Canelones, Maldonado, Cerro Largo, Tacuarembó, Minas, Florida and Durazno.

A year had scarcely passed since the declaration of its independence when a popular movement obliged President Rondeau to change the principal officials of the Government. This first revolution was, unfortunately, no more than the prelude to what was to take place later, for very soon new factions were disputing for power, and the Indian tribes were carrying devastation and death to the towns in the interior. Among these, the tribe of the Charrúas had always been distinguished for their indomitably hostile character. Diaz y Solís, with fifty of his companions, the first Europeans who had attempted to penetrate into La Plata, had been devoured by them in 1516, and since then they had never ceased to carry on a war of extermination against the conquerors. These savages were so much the more dreaded inasmuch as, following the traditions of their ancestors, they sacked and burnt the farmsteads, stole the cattle, killed the men and carried off the women and children. Fructuoso Ribera, who was raised to the presidency, resolved to make an end of such ferocious enemies, and succeeded in seeing them almost annihilated in many battles full of dangers; the few who escaped pursuit hid themselves in the depths of the wilderness; and already this nation only needed, like the lion in the fable, to

know how to paint or to write, in order to transmit heroic annals to posterity.

A little later, and even coinciding with these achievements, Uruguay saw the fatal period of military *pronunciamientos* open. Ribera, often attacked in his headquarters, very nearly succumbed; a colonel named Gurzon, raising his regiment, dispersed the ministers, took all authority for himself and appointed General Lavalleja commander-in-chief of the army. Ribera, defended by a negro battalion and a few hundred white men, marched against the insurgents and defeated them. Ten officers were executed. The sentence of exile pronounced against the authors of these disorders lasted only three years, since, by a decree of amnesty, entrance to the country was opened again to exiles, not excepting General Lavalleja himself.

Manuel Oribe was elected president on the 1st of March, 1835, and Ribera, who at first had the command-in-chief of the army, was soon replaced by Ignacio Oribe. Ribera, who soon became a personal enemy of his successor, made common cause with the Argentine unitarians, and united under his banners the many English and French who were settled in Montevideo. Oribe obtained the help of Buenos Aires, and Rosas, whose fixed idea was to make the Oriental Republic his own for the advantage of the confederation, hastened to intervene, the protests of the resident French minister being insufficient to restrain him. Beaten in 1837, Ribera was obliged to take refuge in Brazilian territory, whence he kept up an incessant guerrilla warfare. When the French squadron blockaded Buenos Aires the next year, he entered Montevideo and got himself elected president, at the same time that his competitor, Oribe, took refuge with Rosas.

Oribe, being appointed by him general of brigade, and placed at the head of the Argentine forces, was not long before he beat the unitarians, the allies of Ribera. While the Argentine fleet, in face of the squadron of Uruguay, commanded by Coe, and afterwards by Garibaldi, was blockading Montevideo, Oribe, refusing the offer of mediation made by England and France, invaded Banda Oriental, and at the end of 1842 defeated the army of Ribera near Arroyo Grande, made himself master of all the country, and marched on the capital, to which he laid siege

by land on the 16th of February, 1843. His soldiers devastated the country, and he had no hesitation in giving it up to pillage. It was not enough to lead the foreigner through his bleeding country, and for this, no doubt, he made those whom he conquered suffer a despotism like that exercised by Rosas. The people abhorred him ; he avenged himself cruelly, and his name has been given up to public execration ; he is known on both banks of the La Plata by the name of the *Headsman*. The foreigners resident in Montevideo took up arms, the Italian legion, the French legion, and a Brazilian regiment, commanded by Garibaldi, and Colonels Thibaut and Brie fighting on this side. Paz and Pacheco and Obes directed the defence. Those men who represented the principles of liberty and humanity performed prodigies of valour ; Garibaldi, surprised in a sally that he made to San Antonio, by 12,000 cavalry and 300 infantry resisted for a whole day, performing prodigies of valour with only 180 Italians, and effected his retreat in good order towards El Salto. The desire of protecting the independence of the Oriental Republic had been the principal reason put forward to justify the intervention of France, England and Brazil ; but the real motive, that which had induced these powers to intervene, was no other than the free navigation of the Paraná, which was secured after the naval action of Obligado in November, 1845, by the combined squadrons of England and France. We have already seen in the preceding chapter how that disastrous struggle terminated. Oribe, being penned up by Urquiza, suffered the most complete defeat on the 8th of October, 1851, by which the liberation of Montevideo was secured.

The country could then take breath, but the injury done to the national finances was great. All progress had been suspended and all improvement had been put off to a less turbulent time. Hitherto cattle-rearing, which constituted the principal wealth of Uruguay, was limited to the raising and trade in horned cattle, horses and mules ; sheep-breeding and the production of wool was now acquiring considerable importance. With the increase of breeding-farms the value of rural property rose very much. Many Spaniards, French, English and Germans laid out their capital in the acquisition of immense tracts of land suitable for pasture, on which are now found flocks and herds of

50,000 and 60,000 head. Nothing is more common at present than to see droves of 10,000 oxen and studs of 6000 horses. Free, on immense and good pastures, whose freshness is constantly maintained by clear streams under a temperate and salubrious sun, selected animals imported from Europe multiply at a rate which exceeds all calculation. This explains how the statistics for the first three quarters of 1866, notwithstanding the fact that it had been a very turbulent year, reached the number of 452,834 cattle and 21,404 horses prepared in the salting houses.

In the same year the shearing of 60,000 sheep on a single estate produced 62,466 kilogrammes of wool, and 54,000 head on another gave 88,500 kilogrammes. The cultivation of maté, sugar-cane and cotton, of the principal cereals, of tobacco and indigo, favours the colonists by the easy production of articles in a country where nature has displayed such a prodigious luxury and exuberance of fertility. The party in power then might have increased, as it was doing, the immense wealth of this country if it were not for the eternal divisions of parties, always the cause there of sharp and rancorous enmity. The *Colorados* or Liberals constantly keep up the greatest antagonism to the *Blancos* or Conservatives, but, nevertheless, a certain material progress opens a way through all these almost continual perturbations, and this is one of the most curious phenomena of these turbulent nations, in which life bursts out on all sides. Uruguay, in the midst of its incessant disturbances, has not remained indifferent to the more pacific struggles of labour. The products of her industry, which did not even attract attention in the Universal Exhibition of Paris in 1855, which took place shortly after her disasters, did so remarkably in that of London in 1862, and in that of Paris in 1867 succeeded in obtaining, among other well-deserved distinctions, a gold medal.

Uruguay, enclosed as it is between its two neighbours, who, intervening for some motive or other in its internal affairs, accused each other of wishing to aggrandise themselves at the expense of this small republic, signed with them on 2nd January, 1859, a treaty tending to give a complete guarantee of its independence and neutrality in case of war between the Confederation and Brazil.

There was to be a new president in 1860, and the election was at last made pacifically. Pereira reckoned on having his son appointed as his successor, but he saw an old man, although in truth still strong and active, preferred. This was Bernardo Berro, an old subaltern of Oribe, and belonging to the *Blanco* or Conservative party. The majority of preceding Governments had been distinguished for their arbitrary acts; the memory of the dark scene of Quinteros, in which Pereira had, without mercy, put to death General Diaz, General Freire and Colonel Tajes, most distinguished officers, was still fresh in all minds. The new president, who disapproved of all arbitrariness and severity, delivered on the 15th of February, 1861, on the opening of the Chambers, a pacific and conciliatory speech, and had a law passed which was not opposed to the return to their country of the *Colorados*, who had been obliged to emigrate, flying from the persecutions of the Conservative party. Nevertheless the Liberals, assembled on the Argentine frontier, not trusting the good intentions of their opponents, did not return to their country, and continued their preparations to throw themselves on the first opportunity on the conquering party and wrest the power from them.

At first neither order nor labour was disturbed, and scarcely anybody attached any importance to the almost daily changes of obscure ministers whom Berro abruptly dismissed when it appeared that they would acquire some influence. The regulation of the English and French loans, to the payment of which the receipts on stamped paper were allotted, led to some diplomatic difficulties. The causes of conflict with the powers of the Old World were of various kinds and arose continually from some incident or other. Because a coastguard had received some sword cuts and a seaman had been ill-treated in Montevideo, Italy and England made strong demands, which were indeed threats. Due satisfaction was given to these powers, although without dignity, and showing the greatest ill-humour, making it evident that it was accorded on that occasion because the Government felt its weakness. For some months a provisional ministry had been at the head of affairs, and although, on the 21st of January, 1863, President Berro endeavoured to form a more homogeneous and representative Cabinet, the political situation was not materially altered. The president followed with restless

eyes the progress of the plot that the Liberals were concocting in Buenos Aires, and, disturbed and unquiet, had recourse to those violent measures against the press and those acts of severity against persons, which, far from removing the danger from those who employ them, always hasten their fall.

On the 19th of April, 1863, an ex-president of Uruguay, who, being obliged to leave the country, had been admitted into the Argentine army and taken part in the battle of Pabon, General Venancio Flores, head of the *Colorado* or Liberal party, disembarked on the east coast and called upon the country to rise. The divisions in the opposite party and the discontent produced by that feeble administration, made the enterprise easier. The terrified Chambers declared Flores guilty of high treason. The Government, seized with fear, took measure after measure, and sent their troops to all sides, thus dispersing their forces. Montevideo was excited in the midst of its divisions ; the country towns, sunk in indifference, were disposed to bear the yoke of the conqueror, either *Blanco* or *Colorado*. The ill-dissembled connivance of Buenos Aires gave much strength and importance to the movement. At the beginning of August Flores was some three leagues from Montevideo, but he was attacked and defeated by the old General Medina, and it was already being asked what had become of him, when, carrying out an offensive movement and marching forty-five leagues in thirty-six hours, he surprised General Diego Lamas and completely routed him.

Berro was nearing the end of his term of office and his dismay reached its extreme. Accused by the ultra-Conservatives of a secret understanding with Flores ; in conflict with the Chambers which he ended by dissolving them ; seeing the treasury empty and not being able to feed or clothe the army, he was impatient to leave the power in other hands. His successor, Anastasio Aguirre, who, like himself, belonged to the Conservative party, entered on his office on the 1st of March, 1864. The crisis had reached its height, and it was thought for a moment that it was going to be ended by the intervention of the foreign diplomatic agents resident in Montevideo. But it was a vain hope ; the situation became more complicated ; certain difficulties relating to territory arose outside, which caused the Argentine Republic and Brazil to combine against Uruguay, and then it was that

Paraguay, threatened by that alliance and finding itself the object of the claims of the two Governments, entered in its turn into the conflict. The fate that awaited it is already known. Not content with raising the greatest obstacles for the Cabinet of Montevideo, Brazil and the Argentine Republic favoured the insurrection. Brazil especially would not have been displeased to see a Government which was hostile to her replaced by another which, owing much to her, would naturally show itself more complacent. Emboldened by that attitude, Flores, who was master of the west, founded a Government and collected the taxes there. Towards the month of June an arrangement appeared possible between Brazil, the Argentine Republic, Flores and Aguirre, but as the Cabinet it was desired to impose on the latter was composed of the friends of Flores, Aguirre refused the combination and war became inevitable. The Brazilian ultimatum was sent to Uruguay on the 4th of August, in which all the grievances of the Cabinet of Rio Janeiro since 1858 were recapitulated. It demanded indemnities for natives of Brazil who were victims of the civil dissensions, and fixed the term of six days, at the expiration of which an appeal to arms would be made. Rejecting the arbitration of a third power, Brazil commenced hostilities.

Montevideo improvised an army of defence, enlisting all citizens between sixteen and sixty years of age, and in order to collect resources addressed the legations and the foreign naval stations to obtain means of guaranteeing the safety of the city and the port. Aguirre had allied himself with Lopez, but the latter did not think the moment opportune for intervention. Flores was declared an outlaw, to which he responded by an assault on the capital of Florida, seized Durazno, and appeared before Salto, which the Brazilian squadron was bombarding.

The declaration of war by Paraguay against Brazil was not sufficient to prevent 6000 Brazilians, united with Flores, attacking Paysandú, and giving up the town to pillage. The taking of this town exasperated men's minds in Montevideo, an exasperation which caused a demand for the dismissal of the ministry and the formation of committees of public safety. The republic was declared to be in mourning on 4th January, 1865, and the treaties with Brazil were publicly burned. In such a bad position of affairs the Conservative party proposed vexatious measures,

refused the arbitration of Mitre, and rejected all accommodation. Terror had reached its height. People of position fled, the poor died of hunger, provisions never arrived, 8000 Brazilians were encamped close to the walls of the city, and thirteen steamers blockaded the port. On the 15th of February Aguirre resigned his authority to Villalba, who was elected the same morning by seven senators, all who could be got together.

Villalba saved Montevideo by a convention that secured the triumph of the *Colorados*. On the 21st he resigned his authority to a lieutenant of Flores, and the latter made a triumphal entry into Montevideo on the 23rd, at the same time that a ship carried away Aguirre and the other chiefs of the *Blancos*. Public festivities took place, and during some weeks there was nothing but singing the "Te Deum," theatrical performances, banquets, speeches and distribution of medals and flags. Flores took the title of provisional governor of the republic, formed a ministry, censured the acts of his predecessor with respect to the Cabinets of Buenos Aires and Rio Janeiro, and published a decree relative to banks of credit. By another decree he restored to the religious associations, and especially the Jesuits, who were expelled by a decree of the 26th of January, 1859, the faculty of opening establishments for teaching, a resolution which brought on him many sharp and well-deserved attacks. Flores signed with Brazil and the Argentine Republic a treaty of offensive alliance against the President of Paraguay, the ally of the *Blancos*, which demonstrated that the triumph of the *Colorados* was the beginning of a general war between the states of La Plata, and that party passions were superior to the great interests of the country.

On the 23rd of June Flores delegated the executive power to the Minister of the Interior, Vidal, and started for the war with his two sons, young officers of sixteen and twenty-five years of age respectively. A decree of the 14th had ordered one man out of every ten in the national guard to be enrolled for the purpose of forming an army corps which was to act against Paraguay. This sort of levy was ill received, and there was no other alternative than to defer putting it in force. Vidal endeavoured to set the national finances on a better footing, and introduced important improvements into the postal system. A project for the survey and valuation of lands was formed. The Government

desired to preserve an absolute neutrality in the Hispano-Chilian conflict, and this produced a momentary break with Chili.

The allies, after gaining a few advantages of small importance, were at last destroyed on 22nd September at Curupayti. After this event Flores quitted the camp without dissembling his disapproval of the conduct of the operations, left the remains of the Oriental contingent with General Castro and returned to Montevideo, where the provisional Government had to contend with the disobedience of the governors of the provinces and the insubordination of the famous battalion of liberty commanded by one of the sons of Flores. The latter visited the provinces and took up the direction of affairs with energy. Material prosperity, equally with the commercial importance of Montevideo, increased very much in a short time. The cholera, which scourged the capital twice in 1867, continued to decimate the inhabitants. The cities that had suffered in the war repaired their damages. Numerous parties of emigrants from Southern Europe continued to scatter themselves over Uruguay; even Germany and Switzerland sent whole colonies. A submarine electric telegraph united Montevideo with Buenos Aires, the construction of railways was conceded to companies, which would at length give the country means of communication hitherto unknown in the republic. The exchange of Montevideo was finished at the same time as the general post-office ; the custom-house buildings were enlarged, a hospital was finished, an orphan asylum, a penitentiary and a market. General commerce remitted in bills of exchange more than 30,000,000 pesos, and 2865 vessels of about 335,000 tons entered and left the port of Montevideo annually. These figures may give an idea of the activity of business in the midst of the gravest political complications. In a single month the custom house produced some 300,000 pesos, a figure which it had never before reached. A commission was appointed to revise the commercial code and the civil and criminal laws and proceedings. The civil code was finished and published at the beginning of 1868.

The national representation had not yet been reconstituted. Giving way to the influence of public opinion, warned by the attitude of the United States, which were little inclined to recognise a dictatorship, and perhaps weary of such a heavy

responsibility, Flores ordered the general elections to be held, and they took place without disturbance at the end of 1867, and he promised to resign his authority into the hands of the newly elected Chamber on the 15th of February, 1868. Flores had many enemies ; he was accused of having sold the independence of Montevideo and the entry to the river Plate to Brazil, and after an attempt on his life by mining his palace, he was at last assassinated in the early part of the above-mentioned year, 1868. General Lorenzo Batlle, who belonged to the Liberal party, succeeded him on the 2nd of March, and although he saw the end of the war with Paraguay, he had to maintain an energetic struggle with the Conservatives, whose insurrection, led by the most prominent chiefs of the party, was prolonged to January, 1872. An armistice was signed at that date between the insurgent forces and Doctor Gomensoro, president of the Senate, and, as such, provisionally charged with the Government of the republic. At length a treaty was signed on the 6th of April of this year through the intervention of the Argentine Republic, and there were public rejoicings for three days to put the seal to this reconciliation. The elections were approaching and preparations were being made by the formation of clubs in which lists of the candidates were drawn up. These assemblies were the genuine expression of the parties such as they were at that period ; *Rojo* or *Colorado* (Liberal), *Blanco* (Conservative) and Radical. This last was formed by young men desirous of forming a new Liberal party, doing away with the old parties who had kept the republic divided for so long. The new Chambers met in order to proceed to the verification of powers in February, 1873. The Senate elected Dr. D. José Ellauri, who on the 1st of May was raised to the presidency of the republic. During his administration an impulse was given to public works, and Uruguay was placed in direct telegraphic communication with Europe by the Trans-Atlantic cable.

Of no better character than the other presidents, Ellauri also saw his authority attacked by arms, and in December, 1874, the troops, which were collected and organised to fight against the insurrection, refused to start and demanded the dismissal of the ministry. Don Pedro Varela was chosen to replace Ellauri in May, 1875, and on taking power found the financial and

commercial situation extremely complicated. A year had scarcely elapsed when he found himself obliged to tender his resignation, and in 1876 Colonel Lorenzo Latorre took the title of Interim or Provisional Governor of the Republic. On arriving at this point we stumble upon facts on which we cannot give our impartial opinion. They are still too little known for us to be able to speak of them without risk of falling into error.

On terminating here the history of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay, tried by so many vicissitudes, we must again state that the cause of all these misfortunes is to be sought in the army, in militarism, which until now has converted it into the plaything of four obscure soldiers, who amid the turbulence of military *pronunciamientos* only aspire to satisfy their exaggerated and bastard ambitions. It is time that a republic with such a future as that of Uruguay should understand that its government should be solely confined to the civil element, relegating the soldiers to the honourable although secondary part of simple executors of the law when obedience to it is openly refused, or the no less honourable part of defending the frontiers of the country when they are threatened by a foreign invader.

We are certain that public opinion, which, fortunately, is manifesting itself in this direction, will impose respect, and that when this happens peace and prosperity will be as durable as they are now ephemeral.

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE REPUBLIC OF PARAGUAY.

PARAGUAY forms an exception in the eventful history of the American republics, since, during the first half of the present century, a profound, although sterile, peace reigned in this country, nor could internal crises become acclimatised in it. Since it ceased to be a Spanish colony until 1865 it existed without violent movements, indifferent to political passions and completely separated from the other nations. Its Government, despotic and jealous, and at the same time hostile to the foreigner, preserved order in its own way; but, in truth, the singular tranquillity that it enjoyed was not to be envied; it was the result of the Asiatic tyranny of a certain José Rodriguez de Francia, a strange personage, who bound that rising population with such strong bands that by preventing all movement they prevented it also from growing. He isolated it from the rest of the world, favoured by the peculiar geographical position of the country, and unfortunate was the traveller who dared to tread the Paraguayan soil, since he expiated his rashness by a detention that might last even ten years, as happened to the celebrated botanist, Bonpland, the companion of Humboldt.

In the month of May, 1811, Paraguay had her revolution, which was carried out without bloodshed. The movement was not only directed against the ancient authority of the mother country, but also against the unforeseen intervention of Buenos Aires. From an assembly which met in June arose a committee which exercised the executive authority, presided over by Fulgencio Yegros, and having José Gaspar Rodriguez de Francia for secretary; the first was a man of little education and limited faculties for government; the qualities of the second we will soon explain. The committee decreed the independence of Paraguay,

which was immediately acknowledged by Buenos Aires in the treaty of Asuncion, and two years afterwards a new Congress of 1000 deputies met, which replaced the committee by two consuls, the above-mentioned Yegros and Francia. Two curule chairs had been erected for them, called respectively Cæsar's and Pompey's; but on entering on the duties of their office Francia occupied the first, leaving the other for his companion in power. It was not very difficult for the former to concentrate all the branches of the administration in his own hands ; he appointed a Secretary of State, endeavoured to reorganise the finances and the army, and deprived the Spaniards of civil rights, with the object of gaining the sympathies of the aborigines. But he was not a man to share power, and the Congress, composed for the most part of simple and ignorant men, accepted, at the instigation of Rodriguez de Francia, the idea of a sovereign magistracy as the only means of saving the republic, which was threatened from abroad ; and on the 8th of October, 1814, he was appointed dictator for three years. But this power, limited by time, could not completely satisfy Rodriguez de Francia, and on the 1st of May, 1816, the Congress newly convoked proclaimed him supreme and perpetual dictator.

José Gaspar Rodriguez de Francia, who was to make Paraguay feel, for a quarter of a century, the weight of one of the most singular tyrannies recorded by history, ruled over a population trained to obedience by the Jesuits, stupid, ignorant of arts and industry, and with a mere rudimentary knowledge of agriculture. He was then fifty-nine years old, of medium stature, lean and vigorous, with black and penetrating eyes, but no marked characteristics in his countenance. His father, who was of French origin, was invited by the Spanish Government of Brazil to Paraguay to found some manufactories of tobacco, and married there. José Gaspar Rodriguez de Francia had been destined in his youth for the ecclesiastical career, and commenced his studies in the seminary of Asuncion and finished them in the university of Córdoba, in Tucuman. After taking the degree of Doctor in Canon Law and a Chair of Theology, he renounced orders, studied jurisprudence, and became an advocate. Clever, eloquent, disinterested, always ready to defend the weak against the strong and the poor against the rich, he soon came into notice, and was

successively elected a member of the municipality, then alderman and mayor. We have seen him also secretary of the supreme committee, consul and dictator.

Endowed at the same time with good and bad qualities, Rodriguez de Francia carried into public life the same disinterestedness that he had shown in private life. Always generous with his private wealth and economical with the public funds, he would accept no more than 3000 pesos of the 9000 that the Congress had assigned for his household. Having made for himself a rule not to receive any present, he paid for all that were presented to him or returned them to the sender. He had heard talk in his youth of the despotism of the Jesuits, of their ambition, of their dark and sinister intrigues, and as he was rather a disciple of the Franciscan friars, he very soon conceived a profound aversion for the outward forms of religion, which he described with much harshness. At the beginning of his dictatorship he went to mass every day, but very soon he ceased to appear at church and dismissed his chaplain; from that time he took pleasure in ridiculing the priests, whom he accused of representing mysteries that they themselves did not understand. "The priests and religion," said he, "serve more to make men believe in the devil than in God;" and declared that if the pope had gone to Paraguay he would have made him his chaplain or almoner.

Rodriguez de Francia re-established the system of isolation adopted by the old missions. Under pretence of preserving his country from the contagion of anarchy and at the same time to withdraw it from the project of absorption that was attributed to Brazil, he forbade, under the most severe penalties, every sort of communication between the inhabitants of Paraguay and their neighbours, as well as the entry into the country of any foreigner. In 1826 he decreed the penalty of death and deprivation of burial against all who, calling themselves envoys from the court of Spain, should cross the frontier of Paraguay without previous authorisation, and against the natives themselves who, on receiving any letter speaking of political affairs, should not immediately present it to the tribunals. These excessively severe measures may have been occasioned by the conduct of the Cabinet of Madrid towards an agent of the dictator appointed to carry out, with the assistance of Queen Charlotte, certain negotiations

whose real object is not very well known, in which some have desired to see a certain mystification, and others a project which was to result in the new acquisition of Paraguay by Spain. The fact is that, coinciding with this, either through anxiety or weariness with the negotiations, or simply to consolidate his power by getting himself reappointed, the dictator convoked a species of national assembly, to which he submitted himself, and which, on 24th September, 1826, ratified a declaration of independence, the cause of which it acknowledged to be the rejection of his proposals by the Spanish Government. After this a military conspiracy was discovered, which could not be more opportune; a colonel named Avendaño was condemned to death, and under these circumstances Rodriguez de Francia was entreated to resume the authority that he had laid down. He consented at last, but not without some pressure, and solely, he said, while waiting for the return of the Marqués de Guarani, his envoy to the Spanish Government, whom he named as his successor. It was then a fact; the country again fell under the yoke of the terrible dictator.

José Gaspar Rodriguez de Francia has, nevertheless, found apologists. Who does not meet with them? This country, kept in absolute subordination between states stirred by all the storms of politics, in consonance with the ardent youthfulness of those populations; this country, the model of inactivity, has excited the admiration of the partisans of order at any price. Abuse of authority, prosecutions, tortures, proscriptions and the thousand odious means employed by that exacting master to satisfy his insatiable thirst for power, have been forgotten. The internal organisation of the country, its military power and the progress that he caused in industry, are eulogised. Undoubtedly his system resulted in forming a nationality of part of the Indian race, which has remained nomadic and uncivilised in the rest of America, and produced a great military power, as was shown by the very duration and intensity of the war which destroyed it; but even conceding all this, and without endeavouring to prove that a different system might lead to the same result, we cannot ignore that all these pretended benefits of tyranny are reduced to the capricious regulation of an irritating monopoly.

In a word, what productive thought did this wonderful soil of Paraguay, which by itself yields two crops annually, inspire in the dictator? Re-establishing the traditions of the Jesuits, he seized the crops and stored them on the account of a Government founded on the principle of the Communes, which possessed two-thirds of the land, and he disposed at will of the country and its inhabitants. He undertook the exchange of products, which is what constitutes the market; he became a merchant in imitation of the agents of the fathers, and when hands were needed for the harvest he had recourse to forced enlistment, applying the system of forced labour on behalf of the state. Nevertheless, he had to acknowledge, in time, that complete sequestration was impossible, since it must necessarily deprive him of resources that were indispensable. He opened then a point of communication on the Brazilian frontier, and established under the vigilance of his soldiers a sort of register or counter for commercial transactions; but, fearing that this innovation would produce vexatious results for his nebulous policy, the dictator wished to avert the danger by monopolising the control of all business. It was necessary to obtain a licence, signed and delivered by him, in order to undertake these operations. Besides, he settled the tariffs of imports, resold them, constituted himself the sole purveyor of European articles, which were deposited in a kind of bazaar under military guard, and the quantity of these articles that each purchaser could acquire was determined beforehand.

It is easily understood that this peculiar economical regimen could be little favourable to the development of agriculture, industry and commerce, and that, on the contrary, it led to the complete prohibition of private action and initiative. The result of such a system was that every profitable enterprise was paralysed and the price of everything was increased. On the other hand, the state lacked nothing pertaining to the department of war, which was, for the dictator, the most essential thing from every point of view, since everything shows that his sole preoccupation consisted in subordinating all to a system of absolute isolation, without caring to give the smallest impulse to the productive forces of the country. In a word, his ambition was to cut it off completely from foreign countries.

He possessed a very miscellaneous library, in which were

found, with the works of Voltaire, Rousseau and Montesquieu, treatises on medicine, mathematics and geography, and a French dictionary of arts and trades which he valued very much and frequently consulted. In accordance with the inspirations of this book he conceived the idea of establishing manufactures and workshops, lavishing money and threats at the same time in order to stimulate the zeal of the workmen. Once he condemned a blacksmith to hard labour for his awkwardness, and on another occasion when he had a gallows erected he gave an unfortunate shoemaker the alternative of being richly rewarded if he gained his object or of being hanged if he came out of the affair badly. He had, besides, laid down the only system that was to be employed in the cultivation of the fields. Abundant crops, which were easily obtained from the extraordinary fertility of the soil, appeared to justify the agricultural pretensions of the dictator, and agricultural economy took a step in advance, but so short a one that everything remained in a rudimentary state. A broad board served for a plough, wheat was ground in mortars, the sugar-mill was a piece of wood moved by oxen ; the cotton was picked from the pods by hand and immediately spun on the spinning-wheel and put into the hands of some travelling weaver, who carried his apparatus on a beast of burden, and set it up, hanging it from the branch of a tree.

This very peculiar man had the idea one day of beautifying Asuncion ; he began to draw out plans with his own hand, and mixing among the workmen, wished his plans to be immediately carried out. But this time his inexperience was plain, and, far from gaining his object, the capital lost the little regularity that it had before. He was, nevertheless, more fortunate in laying out roads and in putting the capital and other fortified towns in a state of defence. A new city, Tebego, a military post, intended to keep in check the Indian savages, was founded under his auspices in the northern part. In addition the dictator had fortified himself against every attempt at internal rebellion or foreign aggression by creating an armed force capable of imposing on the neighbouring states as well as on the savage tribes. As to the Indians scattered in the old Missions, he went on little by little bringing them under the yoke and obliging them to work on the land, and enrolled them in the army like the other citizens.

These forces at length reached the number of 20,000 militia and 5000 regular troops, both well drilled in the use of arms and provided with excellent cavalry. The dictator's body-guard was composed of picked grenadiers of proved fidelity. They also performed the duties of the police, and guarded the old palace of the Spanish governors which its host had isolated, ordering the demolition of the contiguous houses for that purpose. There in retirement with his barber, a mulatto given to drink, who served as confidant to this new Louis XI, and as gazette to make the public acquainted with his projects ; with his secretary, Patiños, an insolent scribe, who revenged himself on the public for the ill-treatment of his master ; and waited on by four slaves, two men and two women, Rodriguez de Francia, always restless and uneasy, seeing nothing but conspiracies everywhere, lived mysteriously, in the midst of austerity and simplicity of manners equal to those of a monk, and always sleeping in a different room, in order that it should not be known where he passed the night. At the age of seventy he married a young Frenchwoman, and from that time did not conceal his sympathy for France. An admirer of Robespierre and Napoleon, he wore a dress that gave him a certain appearance of caricature, but which he thought gave him some likeness to the latter ; a blue coat with gold lace, Spanish epaulettes, white breeches and waistcoat, silk stockings and broad-toed shoes. Armed with a large sword and pistols, he himself drilled his troops, who, if they were subject to severe discipline under arms, had a liberty that bordered on licence when they were not.

With such an army, and a population completely subjugated, José Gaspar Rodriguez de Francia saw his dominating instincts more than satisfied. From the commencement he seized and sent to Tebego or shot all who inspired him with suspicion, taking as a pretext plots against his person, which was identified with the State. Yegros, who had been his companion in the Consulate, was one of his first victims. Accused of favouring the projects of Ramirez, who, from Entre Ríos, meditated invading Paraguay, he was condemned to death in 1819, with forty other citizens. More than 300 persons, imprisoned for the same cause, were condemned to pay very dearly for their liberty, after eighteen months of daily tortures. The dictator, far from showing compassion

for his prisoners, had his special manner of putting them to the torture, renewing their sufferings, and making his vengeance a sort of diversion. His ferocious nature took pleasure in the terror of these miserable wretches, and his looks followed them even to the scaffold. Some have deduced from this that, like his brothers, he had a tendency to madness ; the fact is, and this is proved, that he suffered from frequent fits of hypochondria, and he was in that condition when he decreed the proscriptions and his most ferocious measures. Unfortunate was he who at such a time omitted to call him Your Excellence The Supreme, Most Excellent Lord and Perpetual Dictator ! Unfortunate was he who, in order to speak to him, approached him too closely and did not keep his hands well in view to show that he had no hidden arms ; suspicion, which with him was a real infirmity, left him not a moment of peace, and everywhere he saw nothing but treason, daggers and assassins. He had a countrywoman seized because she approached the window of his office to give him a petition, and even went so far as to order his guard to fire on any one who dared to look at his palace. An Indian very nearly suffered from that order, which was given under the idea that this poor woman might be another Charlotte Corday ; but we must say, for the sake of truth and in acquittal of Rodriguez de Francia, that the order was almost immediately revoked. He was accompanied by a numerous escort when he went out, and as soon as he put his foot outside the palace the bell of the cathedral tolled at short intervals, the inhabitants went into their houses and said to one another, *El Supremo !* If any one, left behind, met the dreaded *cortège*, he immediately bowed his head almost to the ground, without daring to lift his eyes to that cold countenance which imposed the silence of fright.

Death came upon him when he was at the height of his power, after a few days' illness, during which he went on attending only to business, refusing all assistance and forbidding entrance into his room to any one who was not called by him. He was asked in vain to appoint a successor to preserve the country from anarchy ; he answered bluntly that there would be no want of heirs. That he did not end his life with a crime was owing to an accident ; in a fit of anger against his *curandero*, a sort of quack doctor who attended him, he jumped out of bed,

seized a sword and threw himself upon him, but fell down, struck by a fit of apoplexy. No one dared to help him, in order not to infringe his commands, and he died on the morning of 20th September, 1840, at the age of eighty-three years. He had a splendid funeral, and a mausoleum was erected to him, which was thrown down during the night by unknown hands.

Thus ended this incomprehensible personage, a mysterious genius whose actions were sometimes carried to caricature ; an indecipherable problem for Europeans, and not much less so for Americans, and whom one of his victims, the Swiss traveller Reugger, has compared to the man of Brumaire. It may at least be said in favour of the despot of Asuncion, that he had no Waterloo and did not prepare a Sedan. Napoleon was a real retrogression for the France of '89, and José Gaspar Rodriguez de Francia was, up to a certain point, a progression for the Paraguay of 1811. The advantage is on his side ; since it was not a question of a civilised and clever nation, nourished by the teaching of great geniuses and full of enthusiasm and patriotism, but of heterogeneous and ignorant people accustomed to the servility that the Jesuits had imposed on them, and ill fitted to do without a master. The Napoleonic tragi-comedy was acted on a much larger theatre, and as there was no lack of halberdiers or *claque* around the dictator of the Tuileries, the multitude did not perceive his madness or his pride, his violence or his ridiculousness, and knew nothing of his transports or judicial murders. The fits of hypochondria of the American dictator cost a few tears ; those of the Emperor Bonaparte cost rivers of blood and ruined the French nation. For this the comparison does not seem to us quite exact ; tyrant for tyrant, the one of our America is almost preferable.

When the death of Rodriguez de Francia was known for a fact, his secretary Patiños secretly summoned the chief commanders of the barracks, the event continuing to be kept secret for some hours, which they employed in making some arrests and doubling the guard of the public prison, where 700 prisoners were confined in narrow dungeons. But Patiños was not to survive his master ; being suspected of aspiring to succeed him, he was arrested by order of the very committee that he directed under the modest title of secretary, and to avoid the

punishment that was awaiting him he committed suicide by hanging himself in prison. Juan José Medina attempted to seize power with the help of some citizens, but this usurped authority was not recognised by the troops. A congress, convoked on the 12th of May, 1841, conferred the executive power for three years on two consuls, Carlos Antonio Lopez, the nephew of Rodriguez de Francia, and Mariano Roque Alonso.

The new Government hastened to conclude a treaty of commerce and alliance with the province of Corrientes, which was then at war with Buenos Aires, and decreed the gradual abolition of slavery. In March, 1844, Lopez received from Congress the title of President of the republic for ten years, and inherited the absolute power of his uncle. Like him, Lopez showed himself very jealous of his authority; but, occupied at the same time with the idea of terminating the isolation in which hitherto Paraguay had been held, all his efforts tended to stimulate commercial interests and to establish relations with foreign nations. In 1857 he signed treaties of commerce, navigation and alliance with England, France, the United States and Sardinia; and during his government foreign vessels were able to reach Asuncion. An important step in the progress of the country was taken in 1861, by the opening before the astonished multitude of the railway from the capital to Villa Rica, which is indisputably the most important centre of agricultural production. Lopez decreed the dissolution of the Missions of Paraguay, always under the rule of the Commune, and brought the Indians under the common law, giving them the status of citizens. He continued to organise the country with activity, formed a public Treasury, established schools of primary instruction, an iron foundry at Ibicuy and a military and naval arsenal at Asuncion. Sometimes he had disputes with England, the United States and Brazil; but he was able to oppose and overcome with great ability the difficulties that arose, and to repel energetically the rivalry of the neighbouring states and the pretensions of Rosas, who persisted in not seeing in Paraguay more than a dependency of the Argentine Republic; and at last was accepted as arbitrator or mediator in the war that was destroying the Argentine provinces and Buenos Aires. In 1854 the National Congress, after examining and approving all the acts of the presidential

administration, re-elected Lopez for another ten years, and he, using a right that the constitution gave him, appointed his son, the Brigadier D. Francisco Solano Lopez, to the vice-presidency of the republic, on the 10th of September, 1862, before the end of his term of office. The retired and solitary life that he led destroyed his health, and he died when he was about to complete his sixtieth year.

Solano Lopez, who was then thirty-five years old, had completed his studies in Europe. His father had introduced him when very young into public affairs and afterwards appointed him Minister of War and Marine. Under these conditions the Congress made no difficulty in ratifying the election that the late president had made. The son was much less bound than the father to the restrictive traditions of Rodriguez Francia, and thus from his accession to power he supported the progressive movement of Paraguay, which had for so long been ignorant of all the benefits of civilisation. Through the exertions of the new president the cultivation of cotton was much extended during the war of the United States, and he exempted from all import duties all machines and tools destined for agriculture and industry. The treasury advanced to natives and foreigners considerable sums in order to be employed in enterprises of general utility; and a number of young men were periodically sent to Europe to complete their studies in the old world. In June, 1863, on the return of some of these young men who could be immediately employed, the Government conceived the idea of choosing thirty more students from the colleges of the republic and sending them to France, where they would perfect themselves in the professions of the magistracy, the army, the administration, industry and commerce. In spite of a few despotic practices that the President Solano Lopez had inherited from his predecessors, and which he did not appear much inclined to give up, the republic of Paraguay saw a hitherto unknown era of prosperity opening before her.

Then it was that the terrible war broke out between this country and three allied neighbours, Brazil, the Argentine Republic and Uruguay, during which the president and people of Paraguay gave proofs of their indomitable energy. The obscure and undecided question of the frontiers had made the relations

between Paraguay and the neighbouring states difficult for some time past. The cause of the constant hostility always existing between the republics of this region was the wish to dominate the navigation of the Rio de la Plata and its tributaries, and, above all, the idea that was constantly being revived of uniting in one nationality the great network of rivers whose immense outflow forms the Rio de la Plata. This idea was not unconnected, at that period, with the disturbances in Uruguay and the Argentine Republic. This placed Paraguay in a strained situation; and Lopez thought it prudent to put his country in a state of defence; and certainly in acting thus he was clearly within his rights, but his views extended further. After securing the adhesion of the notables of the capital, Lopez did not hesitate to take the offensive. On 11th November, 1864, he seized a Brazilian packet-boat, on board of which was the Governor of Matto Grosso; on 15th December an army corps of 10,000 men penetrated into that province, and on the 1st of January following took the fortified towns of Alburquerque, Corumba and Dourado, and marched on Cuyabas. On the other hand, small skirmishes were taking place with the Argentine patrols, since Lopez wished to put things in the same position with Buenos Aires as they were in with Rio Janeiro. The Congress, which met in Asuncion, approved his policy by acclamation on the 5th of May, 1865, invested him with the title of marshal, and empowered him to raise a loan of 25,000,000 pesos, issuing paper money. The chief concern of Lopez was to act so rapidly that he did not give his adversaries time to organise themselves. On 14th August four Paraguayan vessels entered the harbour of Corrientes and seized two Argentine ships, at the same time that 2000 men took possession of the city and set up a federal administration instead of the unitarian which ruled it; by which Lopez thought to take advantage of the rivalries of the parties. Until now the contest was only with Brazil and the Argentine Republic. La Banda Oriental united with these adversaries after defeating Flores at Aguirre. The three nations signed a treaty of alliance, which, fortunately, did not deserve the sympathies of the other American republics, by which they undertook to carry on the war against Lopez alone, whom they called a tyrant, and took as a watchword the liberation of a sister people which

groaned under a cruel despotism. On 11th June the Brazilian squadron and the Paraguayan flotilla met, and after a sanguinary fight, which gave an opportunity for the Paraguayans to give proofs of their courage, the advantage rested with the Brazilians. This reverse, nevertheless, had its compensation, the Paraguayan division of Uruguay entering the same day into the province of Rio Grande and occupying important positions. One part of this division gave way to numbers, and was afterwards defeated by Flores, at the same time that the treason of Colonel Estigarribia gave up, without firing a shot, the other part, composed of 6000 men, which was cantoned in Uruguay.

Before these two blows, which completely destroyed one of his army corps, Lopez, fearing that demoralisation would spread among his troops, fell back by a very able retreat towards the territory of the republic. He fortified himself on the north bank of the Paraná, collected there all provisions, took the town of Itapua for his base of operations, and immediately established parks of reserve in Humaita and Asuncion. Then he waited for the allied army, which was not afraid to add the prisoners taken from the enemy to its ranks. During a whole year Lopez fought almost always with advantage over the Brazilian general, Porto-Alegre. His troops, led on by ardent patriotism and excited to fanaticism by sermons, allowed themselves to be killed with inexplicable bravery; the soldiers were the object of all the general's care; he even went so far as to call in English and North American surgeons for them. Obliged to retreat before superiority of numbers, Lopez had to abandon his camp at Stapira, with the batteries that he had placed near the Paraná, and on 23rd April, 1866, to march towards Humaita in order to take up positions and defend the fort of that place. Here he waited and defeated the Argentines commanded by Mitre, who had unfortunately wandered into that fratricidal struggle. The result was most fatal to those who made the assault, from which fact arose some attempts at negotiations which had no success, notwithstanding the efforts of Chili.

Although the Argentine and Oriental populations became very weary, the war increased in animosity, and became more painful and cruel through the terrible epidemic of cholera which spread in both camps. At the end of 1867 Lopez was able to re-establish

his communications between Asuncion and Humaita, where the batteries sank some Brazilian vessels of war which attempted to force the passage. At that period the war was carried on by small actions, almost always adverse to the enemy, in which a young Englishwoman, named Eliza Lynch, who had warmly taken up the cause of the president, with whom she was violently enamoured, took a very active part, at the head of some battalions of Amazons. A Brazilian army corps, destined to invade Paraguay from the north-east, crossing the frontier in the province of Matto Grosso, was repulsed and pursued at the point of the bayonet, being obliged to make a retreat under such difficulties that it took thirty-five days to cover a distance of thirty-nine leagues. In the middle of 1868 another Brazilian fleet arrived in order to break through the boom and descend to Humaita, yet was detained until the allies, reinforced by numerous contingents, had obliged Lopez to abandon the formidable entrenched camp of Humaita and retire to Tebicuari and Timbo. Setting to work to reconstitute his army, which was diminished by so many sanguinary combats, he was soon able to take the offensive again. By a bold march he advanced to forty kilometres south of Asuncion, establishing himself in Villeta. Overcome once more by numbers he retired behind the trenches of Angostura, whence he was dislodged after six days' sanguinary struggle, leaving, on 27th December, six pieces of artillery and 1000 prisoners in the hands of the allies. As a result of this heroic and sanguinary combat the capital fell into the hands of the enemy.

Lopez appeared already to be lost, and some supposed that he had fled to the United States, but the indomitable marshal had no other thought than taking his revenge. Collecting the remains of his army, he called for new contingents and established himself in Piribebuy, making that town his provisional capital. The allies, on their part, thinking they had obtained a decisive victory, began to be divided, disputes between the generals arising every day. As soon as the Emperor of Brazil knew that Lopez had begun the campaign again, he sent fresh troops, and put his son-in-law, the young Comte d'Eu, grandson of Louis Philippe, at the head of the allied armies. The Comte d'Eu marched against Lopez, who had fixed his head-quarters in

Ascurra, and after commanding all the line from Asuncion to Villa Rica, offered him battle on 12th August, 1869, pursued him, and in September following defeated him almost completely in the neighbourhood of Caraguatay.

The allies established a provisional Government in Asuncion, composed of Loizaga, Rivarola and Diaz de Bedoya, at the same time that a decree of the Brazilian Government outlawed the hero, who thus, step by step, disputed his country with the enemy, and all who fought under his command. That iniquitous measure, which could have no other foundation than the right of the strongest, did not in the least terrify Lopez, who continued in his firm resolution to defend the integrity of the Paraguayan territory to the last. Notwithstanding that he only reckoned on a small force of infantry and cavalry and some thirty small field pieces, he marched to San Isidoro, at the foot of the Cordilleras of Coaguaru, and entrenched himself there. Dislodged from his last position and pursued to the mountains by General Camera, he procured in vain the help of 5000 Indians. Surrounded on all sides, he did not hesitate for a moment in taking a desperate resolution, and the small Paraguayan army sustained the last attack, 1st May, 1870, on the banks of the Aquidaban, where it was completely destroyed. Among the slain were the President Lopez and the Vice-President Sanchez, who had fallen in the vanguard. Thus ended, after five years, the gigantic struggle of the intrepid and valorous Paraguayan nation. In it Lopez displayed the energy, tenacity, courage and coolness of a patriot and a hero. He was brave, intelligent, of humane sentiments, and earnestly occupied with the future of his country, which a war, as savage as it was useless, had depopulated, working his ruin at the same time.

Paraguay had entirely passed into the hands of the allies. Completely devastated, its population, which before the war was reckoned at about 1,500,000, was reduced to a sixth part by war, executions, the epidemic and want, and even those disconsolate remains were composed for the most part of women and children. Its income had fallen from £13,000,000 to £2,000,000, and the instruments and objects of productive industry were everywhere destroyed; the railway had no rolling stock, workshops nor stations; the public edifices were falling into ruins;

provisions were scarce, and seed lacking. The disorder was so great that even the Government could not find the titles to its property. It was necessary to begin over again.

A preliminary treaty of peace between Brazil and the Argentine Republic, on the one part, and the provisional Government of Paraguay on the other, was signed on the 20th of June. On 25th November a Congress, elected by universal suffrage, proclaimed a constitution, modelled on that of the United States, in which there was a president, elected for three years, a vice-president, a Cabinet, composed of five ministers, a Senate, and a Chamber of Deputies. The standing army was abolished, some reforms were made in the judicial and administrative bodies, and foreigners were admitted to the enjoyment of the same rights as natives, even in offices of state, except the high political and administrative posts.

At the beginning of April, 1861, Cirilo Antonio Rivarola was elected president; but soon grave dissensions arose between him and the Congress, whose dissolution he decreed at the end of the same year. Nevertheless, the Chamber disobeyed this decree and established itself outside the walls of Asuncion. The president called for help on the Brazilian and Argentine garrison; but the plenipotentiaries considered all foreign intervention as contrary to the constitution and an attack on the national independence and dignity. Rivarola resigned his authority, and the vice-president, Salvador Jovellanos, was raised to the presidency of the republic for three years on 12th December, 1871. In October, 1874, Juan Bautista Gil succeeded him, who, having had charge for a long time of the finance department, has spared no effort to re-establish the national credit.

Paraguay is not yet free from its terrible disasters. According to the definitive treaty of peace made in January, 1872, with Brazil, the frontier between the two countries is formed by the course of the Paraná from the point where it joins the Iguazu to the cataract of Seven Cascades; then it follows the line of the waters at the distance of the sierras of Maracayu and Amambay and goes down to the river Paraguay, following the course of the Apa. The said treaty establishes free navigation under all flags on the rivers Paraná, Paraguay, Uruguay and all their affluents. Other special treaties have settled the rules for the extradition

of non-political criminals, the advantages given to the allied countries, and the commerce between Paraguay and the Brazilian province of Matto Grosso. Paraguay undertakes to pay a war indemnity of 200,000,000 pesos to Brazil, 35,000,000 to the Argentine Republic, and 1,000,000 to Uruguay. In return Brazil undertakes to protect the Government of Asuncion from all aggression, whether native or foreign, and for this reason it was stipulated that the Brazilian troops should continue to occupy the territory of the republic for ten years. This stipulation clearly shows how far the autonomy of the country is illusory, and it may well be thought possible that insidious diplomacy, reckoning on the help of bayonets, may, at a more or less distant date, make itself master of these beautiful regions. It should be now time for republican America to protest against the intervention of a monarchical country like Brazil in the internal affairs of Paraguay ; and that the Argentine and Oriental nations, who are directly interested in the independence of that republic, should repair the unpardonable fault that they committed against her. Urquiza's idea of uniting the republics of La Plata in order to counteract the rising preponderance of Brazil was prudent and foreseeing ; Mitre and Flores fell into the error of not supporting it ; it would be right to return to that proposal.

We have little more to say of this brave people, so worthy of its most complete regeneration, and which has shed so much blood on fields of battle in defence of its soil and its liberty. The very laborious work of reconstruction follows its pacific course through numerous difficulties. It is very interesting to observe how this republic, so cruelly destroyed, is recovering its strength, showing a curious example of the rapidity with which the states of the New World rise from their ruins, and causing the effects of these terrible disasters to be forgotten. Nevertheless, without a very considerable immigration, one or two generations must pass before Paraguay regains her numerical strength. We have already said that before the war it reckoned 1,500,000 inhabitants ; according to the census of 1st January, 1873, these figures were reduced to 221,079, of which 86,079 were children, 28,746 men over fifteen years of age, and 106,254 women of the same age. These numbers undoubtedly have their eloquence. This people, thus reduced, and its male population so largely destroyed,

who, however, are remarkable for their courage and energy, inhabits a territory of 146,886 square kilometres in the centre of South America, and is bounded by Brazil, the Argentine Republic and Bolivia. Except the land of Amambay, which separates it on the north from Brazil, Paraguay is completely surrounded by rivers, by which its territory is well watered. Its climate is very temperate and not unfavourable to Europeans ; but, until now, they prefer to direct their activity to countries washed by the ocean, on whose shores vessels from the old continent cast anchor every day.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### BOLIVIA.

THE position and isolation of Bolivia counteract its advantages and remove it almost completely from the commercial movement of other nations. Its boundaries being, on the west Peru, Brazil on the north and east, the Argentine Republic and Chili on the south, it has only one outlet to the Pacific Ocean on the southwest, crossing the desert of Atacama to reach Cobija, the only port possessed by the republic. In the 1,388,700 square kilometres that form its territory, there are little more than 2,000,000 inhabitants, almost all coloured, there being very few whites. The Indians of pure blood amount to nearly three-fourths of the population, comprising three tribes, the Chiquitos, the Moxos and the Chiriguano, inoffensive and hospitable people. The remainder of the population are generally half-breeds, with some negroes. In spite of the abolition of slavery the Indians do not yet enjoy complete liberty, since their labour is regulated and they have to give some days to the state plantations.

The climate of Bolivia generally is unhealthy and very hot in the low lands, especially in the desert of Atacama, where rain is exceedingly rare. It is not so on the high table-lands, where snow is frequent, even in April and November, and on the great plains of the east, which are frequently inundated by the rains, which do not cease from April to October.

Notwithstanding its small importance, this region of our continent has not been without political commotions. Insurrections have followed one another with great frequency, and are the cause of a chronic instability, and consequently of the paralysis of trade, which affects their best interests and plunges the people in ignorance and misery.

Bolivia is endowed with exceptional conditions of fertility. At the same time that its valleys and plains present the marvels

of the tropical flora in all their splendour, in the mountainous districts all kinds of metals are extracted from the earth; gold, silver, copper and lead; but the first is very difficult to work, sometimes from being in inaccessible parts, and sometimes from being mixed with an ore which is very hard, the smelting of which would require a great outlay. The silver mines found in this country are much more numerous and easy to work. Among the different mineral districts we will mention the well-known mountain of Potosí, which is more than twenty kilometres in circumference and 1100 metres high, and in which there are more than 300 shafts of great depth. This mountain has been worked for three centuries, and has produced during this time more than 450,000,000 pesos. The argentiferous sands of Carangas are also celebrated, in which pieces of solid silver called *potatoes*, on account of their form, are met with; and the no less famous copper mine of Corocoro. The number of gold and silver mines that are worked amounts to 148.

The small population of this country is the cause of so few cultivated lands being met with, notwithstanding that the variety of its climate and the fertility of the soil fit it for all sorts of vegetable productions and the raising of all kinds of animals. If agriculture is very backward, there is hardly any industry and very little trade, the want of means of communication between the interior and the coasts contributing to this; the principal articles of export are drugs, metals, hides and guano.

Chuquisaca, the capital, known also by the names of La Plata or Charcas, and by the official name of Sucre, has not more than 28,000 inhabitants, and is situated at some distance from the left bank of the Pilcomayo; it is the seat of the superior Government and of an archbishop, and chief town of the department of Chuquisaca. Its university is celebrated, and it possesses one of the best libraries in South America. It is situated in a delightful valley, surrounded by high hills, which defend it from the impetuosity of the hurricanes; all the houses, which are well built, have magnificent gardens in which almost all the fruit trees of Europe are cultivated. Water is not plentiful, but it is good and well distributed by various beautiful fountains.

La Paz, the commercial capital of the republic, is large, well built, adorned with fountains and public edifices and situated on

level ground, although it is surrounded by hills on all sides. It is at the south-east of lake Titicaca, at an elevation of 3717 metres, on the banks of the small river called the river La Paz, which in the rainy season or during the melting of the snows carries down large rocks and grains of gold which the people collect when the waters go down. The principal trade of this town, which contains 45,000 souls, is in maté or Paraguay tea. It has a theatre, a museum, a library, well-paved streets and beautiful fountains ; the people are hospitable, and the women are enchanting and good natured.

The most important towns of the republic, after the two just named, are Tipuani, celebrated for its gold mines ; Potosí, so well known throughout the world for its mountain or *cerro del Potosí*, which has more than 30,000 inhabitants, and Cochabamba or Oropesa, the granary of Bolivia, which contains about 36,000 souls.

San Lorenzo is another notable place of this little-known region, where settlements of the missions, on the banks of the principal rivers, are almost the only thing that recalls civilisation in the midst of the uncivilised tribes who dwell there. The most numerous of these tribes are those already named, the Chiquitos and the Moxos or Mojos, men inured to the hardships of war, whose only occupation is hunting and fishing. The Moxos dwell on extensive plains exposed to frequent inundations and traversed by great rivers on which they have to travel in piraguas part of the year. Their principal subsistence is derived from fishing ; their dress is made of the bark of trees. The Chiquitos live in a mountainous country covered with woods ; they employ themselves in agriculture, and have fixed habitations, collected together and forming small towns. They are very hospitable and lively. The language of the Chiquitos is distinguished by an elaborate syntax which no one would think of finding among savages. Another town, Cobija, or Puerto de la Mar, important on account of its situation, is the only port of Bolivia and the chief town of the province bearing its name, which includes the desert of Atacama, inhabited by the *Changos* and the *Llipis*, tribes who speak Spanish and wear clothes.

As we have pointed out, the foreign trade of Bolivia is not very important on account of its geographical position, which

only gives this state one not very good port, namely, Cobija. Its natural productions can only be transported by some tributaries, not yet much used, of the Amazon and the river Plate. Nevertheless, this republic has to depend on them in the future to export its interesting productions. A treaty concluded with Peru allows Bolivia to send its exports through the port of Arica ; these, as we have said, chiefly consist of metals, Peruvian bark and guano, good deposits of which exist on Mejillones, on Blanca Island, and in some other parts.

The waters which contribute to form the rivers Amazon and La Plata rise in Chuquisaca, which is 2841 metres above the level of the sea. Two small rivulets spring from the base of two gigantic masses of porphyry, situated on the Cordilleras and overlooking the city ; these, separating at a short distance, afterwards become the two greatest rivers of South America, which run into the ocean, one to the north, the other to the south, and appear to invite Europe to come and work the field that their banks have opened to modern industry. It seems that all the hopes of the future of Bolivia must have their foundation here ; unfortunately, its river navigation is very much restrained, and its inhabitants confine themselves to working the mines and gathering the Peruvian bark.

The five provinces of La Paz, Potosí, Charcas, Cochabamba and Santa Cruz, which form Upper Peru, before forming themselves into an independent state, under the name of Bolivia, had formed part of the united provinces of La Plata. This country, after Colombia, has suffered most for the cause of emancipation, since it has no town which has not several times been given up to pillage. It will thus be understood why these words are found in the Act of Independence : "Upper Peru was the altar on which the first blood was shed for liberty, and the land where the last tyrant perished. . . . The barbarous burning of more than a hundred villages, the destruction of towns, the scaffolds raised everywhere against the partisans of liberty, the blood of a thousand victims who suffered torments that would have made the Caribs themselves shudder ; the taxes and exactions, as arbitrary as they were inhuman ; the insecurity of the honour and lives of persons, and of property, and, in fine, an atrocious and merciless inquisitorial system have not been able to extinguish

the sacred fire of liberty and the just hatred of the Spanish power.” The fifty deputies who formed the Congress, which met in Chuquisaca on 6th August, 1825, and represented the sovereign power of Upper Peru, expressed themselves in these terms, some four months after the remains of the Spanish forces, commanded by Olaneta, were finally defeated at Potosí. The battle of Tumala, fought on 1st April of the same year, had put an end to a struggle, which, after Ayacucho, could be no longer sustained by the royalists. Bolívar, at the same time that he appointed Sucre provisional head of the provinces recently liberated, advised them to manage their own affairs and endeavour to shape their own destiny. Peru, by a decree of 23rd February, and Rio de la Plata, by the law of 9th May, left them “the free and spontaneous decision of what was most suitable to their prosperity and government”. Under these conditions the Congress decided for independence, and on 11th August, 1823, a new republic was formed in South America, superior by the number of its inhabitants to Chili, and even to La Plata. It was called at first the republic of Bolívar, in honour of its liberator, and shortly after took the name of Bolivia, which it has preserved.

Working with all the enthusiasm of triumph, carried away by a species of patriotic delirium and the necessity of enjoying it in a noisy manner, the Congress voted a series of measures, in which the character of the natives of the country is clearly revealed. The slave noisily shook off the chains which had just been broken, and with the eager desire of showing his liberty, which was gained at such a high price, the ardour of the neophyte overflowed in his decrees and proclamations under the most emphatic and declamatory forms. It was announced to the whole continent that Upper Peru recognised in Bolívar *her good father*, and the supreme executive power of the republic was conceded to the hero of South America, with the titles of protector and president. The Congress resolved that the anniversary of the battle of Junin and the birthday of their *liberator* should be annually celebrated with public rejoicings; that the portrait of Bolívar should be placed in all courts of justice, town halls, universities, colleges, schools and other analogous places, in order that its presence should keep up the remembrance of the father of his country and be a stimulant to imitate his great virtues,

and that an equestrian statue should be placed on a column in all the provincial capitals. General Sucre, decorated with the title of Grand Marshal of Ayacucho, was ordered to have struck, and to present to the liberator, a gold medal surrounded with diamonds, on which were shown in relief the mountain of Potosí and the liberator, over a trophy of muskets, swords, cannon and banners, placing the Phrygian cap, the emblem of liberty, on the summit of the mountain. The National Congress did not show itself less grateful to Sucre, since it also wished that the anniversary of his birth and that of the battle of Ayacucho should be celebrated, that his portrait should be placed everywhere at the left hand of that of the liberator, and that a pedestrian statue of him should be erected in each provincial capital. He was acknowledged as the first general of the nation, with the title of captain-general, besides enjoying the title of *Defender and Great Citizen of the Republic of Bolívar*. At the same time the province of Chuquisaca and the capital also received the name of Sucre, and it was resolved to present to him a gold medal set with diamonds, representing the grand marshal delivering Peru, under the form of a vicuña, a sort of deer of Peru, from the claws of a lion, with the following inscription: *The Republic of Bolívar to her Defender the Hero of Ayacucho*. Nor was this all; a large plate of gold was to be made, in the centre of which was to be seen a young native woman, the symbol of America, seated on the spoils of a lion and covered by a species of pavilion formed of the banners of the states of the continent. She was to give her right hand to the liberator and her left to the grand marshal, who were to be represented wearing the Phrygian cap and having many broken chains and shackles at their feet. On each side the names of the other generals and chiefs who had taken part in the battles of Junin and Ayacucho were to be engraved, and below those of the commandants and subalterns who had distinguished themselves in them. That plate was to be placed in the Hall of Sessions of the Congress; and, lastly, every one who fought in those battles received the title of citizen of the republic, and 1,000,000 pesos were consigned to Bolívar, at least nominally, to be distributed among the liberating forces.

By another decree of 31st August the Government was declared to be republican—representative, *concentrated*, general and

*indivisible*; these are the actual words of the decree. Bolívar, whose authority appears to have been more absolute in Bolivia than in Peru and Colombia, was commissioned to draw up the social compact, and the result of his labours was that constitution, the object of so much criticism, known under the name of the Bolivian code, and which was a model constitution in the eyes of his admirers. According to proofs that he has left in his own handwriting, he intended from that period to apply this production of his political thoughts, first to Peru and then to Colombia. This document, then, is of recognised historical interest and gives the measure of Bolívar's talent for organisation. The exposition that precedes it deserves minute consideration, since the advantages of a stable or permanent Government are demonstrated in it, with a conviction very surprising, according to his opponents, in a republican who showed himself weary of power, but who, without any doubt, dreamed of the supreme and irresponsible presidency of an immense republic of the United States of South America.

After laying down in principle that tyranny and anarchy are like an immense ocean of oppression beating against the small island of liberty which the impetuosity of its waves threatens continually to submerge, the liberator establishes four political powers; every ten citizens appoint an elector whose authority lasts four years; the electors elect three Chambers; that of the tribunes, also elected for four years, has the exclusive privilege of legislating on the imposts, peace and war; the Senate, which lasts eight years, watches over the tribunals and religion, and the Chamber of Censors, whose members hold their seats for life, has *a political and moral power which has a certain likeness to that exercised by the Areopagus at Athens and the Censors of Rome*, and is the guardian of the constitution and of the fulfilment of public treaties. Bolívar endeavoured to anticipate the difficulties that sometimes arise in the system of two Chambers when they are opposed, and for this he created a third body, of whose utility as umpire between the two first he thus speaks: "Every difference of opinion between two of these Chambers is decided by the intervention of the third. A question examined and discussed by both sides will then be submitted to the impartial judgment of the third, and in this manner no useful law can

remain without effect, or at least, before being thrown out, will have been voted on two and sometimes three times." And being convinced of the excellence of his idea, he adds with an air of triumph: "In all the affairs of life, when difficulties arise between two parties, a third is named to settle them; would it not be absurd that so simple a means should be ignored and thrown away when the most important interests of society are treated of?"

There is a peculiarity worthy of remark in the system established by Bolívar, namely, that power is exercised by a president appointed for life, aided by a vice-president, whom he appoints his successor *ex officio*. In May, 1826, the Congress, elected under the influence of bayonets, voted this constitution by acclamation; but outside the Assembly a veritable tempest broke out against its author. Bolívar, invested with the power that he himself had created, left it provisionally in the hands of the grand marshal; and on the 9th of December, the day on which the constitution came into force and the anniversary of the battle of Ayacucho, Sucre gave in his resignation, and on being re-elected accepted the presidency for two years only.

The discontent that the Colombian influence caused in Peru and Bolivia was not long in showing itself openly, and the two countries agreed to free themselves from the foreigner and overturn the institutions and governments that Bolívar had created. Sucre attempted to re-establish the prestige of the Colombian name in Lima; but he had enough to do to maintain his authority in Bolivia. The enormous contributions that he laid upon the country and the absolute power that he exercised alienated the sympathies of the people from him, and as there were conspiracies in his own army he shot several of his best officers. In 1827 some Colombian soldiers, mercenaries of the republic, rose, headed by Lieutenant-Colonel Guerra, and when Sucre attacked them he received so severe a wound in the left arm that amputation was necessary. Other popular risings followed; the Colombian troops were expelled in 1828, and Sucre, who had to give way to numbers, after a desperate resistance, had to leave the country, and it is not known how he perished two years afterwards, a victim to his fidelity to the cause of the liberator.

A new Congress, which met on the 3rd of August, made

considerable changes in the constitution, elected General Santa Cruz, who was then thirty-four years old and had held supreme power in Peru for a short time, as president of the republic. As he hesitated to accept the distinction of which he had been made the object, Velasco seized the dictatorship, which he was able to hold for four months, until Congress deposed the usurper and elected General Blanco in his place. This man perished in a revolt on the night of 1st January, 1829, and then a provisional Government offered the presidency again to Santa Cruz, who accepted it.

On 24th June, 1831, the first Legislative Assembly was opened, and in the president's message it was declared that as France had been the first European nation which had recognised the political existence of Bolivia, she had the right to be preferred in her markets as well as in all other relations. In the same year Santa Cruz promulgated the code that bears his name, and from that time a certain order began to be established in the public finances. According to a ministerial project presented to the Chambers in August, 1832, the budget of expenses amounted to 1,486,026 pesos fuertes, and of income to 1,700,719. Certain difficulties which arose with Peru were amicably arranged, and a treaty of peace and commerce was signed between the two countries. Santa Cruz, desiring to give an impulse to agriculture, industry and the sciences, endeavoured to attract Europeans by offering them certain favours and advantages. The army of Bolivia at that time was the best organised, disciplined and equipped in all South America.

Some passing disturbances did not interfere with the prosperity of the republic, and the neighbouring states might envy the relative tranquillity that was enjoyed there. It was called in Europe the Switzerland of South America. The simple manners of its inhabitants, their good faith, their desire for instruction, and also the steepness of their mountains, which formed a natural barrier, really favoured the comparison. Then it was that Santa Cruz, who was appointed arbitrator between the claimants to the presidency of Peru, realised for his own advantage the well-known proverb, *inter duos litigantes, tertius gaudet*. Having entered Peru at the head of 5000 men in May, 1835, he had made himself master of the country by the end of

the following February ; he divided Peru into two states, forming one of the provinces of the North, and the other of those of the South ; he gave them a constitution which guaranteed their independence in internal matters, but subjected them both to a central government of which he was the head with the title of protector. These two states united with Bolivia formed the Peruvio-Bolivian Confederation.

These events were not of a nature to tranquillise the neighbouring republics. Chili especially was uneasy, and was at no loss for a pretext for war. The struggle, which ended on 20th January, 1839, by the defeat of Santa Cruz, had lasted about three years, and this defeat was made complete by the defection of Ballivian, the commander of the army of the Centre, and of Velasco, who held the command in Bolivia. The latter got himself recognised as provisional president by a Congress which met in Chuquisaca on 16th June, 1839, and Ballivian obtained the vice-presidency. This was a death-blow for the confederation ; Velasco made peace with Chili. Had it not been for the mediation of the English representative, Santa Cruz would have escaped the fury of his enemies with difficulty ; he embarked for Guayaquil on 13th March, after resigning the authority which his own soldiers would have taken from him.

The protector left many faithful friends behind him who endeavoured to take revenge and brought his administration under discussion in Congress, which declared it irreproachable. This was not sufficient for them, and in a short time a revolution was made in his favour. Colonels Agreda and Goitia seized Velasco, whom they found at play in the house of a lady of the city, at the same time that the commander of a battalion at the head of a handful of men endeavoured to raise the north of Peru ; but he was taken and shot in a short time. Santa Cruz did not appear, and Ballivian, who had gone to Peru, learning of these events, undertook to reduce the party of the protector. Gamarra, the President of Peru, lent his aid to this project, expecting to obtain the province of La Paz as the reward of his co-operation ; but when Ballivian had obtained power he ordered his ally to evacuate the territory. Far from complying with this order, Gamarra occupied La Paz and took possession of Viacha at the beginning of the autumn of 1841 ; but on 18th

November of the same year his army, composed of 5200 men, was defeated on the plain of Ingavi by 3800 Bolivian soldiers commanded by Ballivian in person. Gamarra lost his life in that battle, and his men, pursued by the enemy's lancers, were almost all killed. Proud of his victory, Ballivian entered Peru in order to seize a part of it, favoured by the internal quarrels, until, on 7th June, 1842, peace was signed in Pasco through the intervention and under the guarantee of Chili.

During this period Santa Cruz, who was meditating in Guayaquil on the means of regaining power after all his attempts to revolutionise Peru in his favour had failed, ventured to return to Bolivia in 1844, but was arrested in the Cordilleras and afterwards deported to Chili.

Ballivian also fell in his turn and retired to Valparaiso. Velasco, who recovered power, did no more than appear and disappear. At the end of 1848 the Minister of War, Belzu, put himself at the head of a movement whose object might be to obtain the presidentship for himself equally well as to gain the power for Santa Cruz, who had gone to Europe; but the army pronounced in favour of the leader of the movement. Belzu, a violent and capricious dictator, supported by the military demagogic, subjected Bolivia to the caprices of his despotism. During his administration, nevertheless, the irritating question of the boundaries between Upper and Lower Peru was settled; the port of Arica was declared common to the two republics, and the waters of Bolivia were opened to navigation under all flags. General Córdoba succeeded Belzu in the presidentship in 1855, and disappeared in 1858, after a revolt, and perished by a violent death three years later. Dr. Linares, who was raised to the presidency by the Liberal party, was a man of talent and struggled against the military party; but fell, without tumult or effusion of blood, in 1861, in consequence of a palace revolution, excited by a few generals, under the pretext that he had not convoked the Congress. The direction of affairs being confided to a Committee of State, composed of Ruperto Fernandez, José María Acha and Manuel Antonio Sanchez, the ex-President Linares was brought to trial and exiled; a general amnesty was proclaimed, and an assembly was convoked which was to reconstitute the republic once more. The fall of Linares was the cause of

some movements in the provinces which were quenched in blood. In La Paz Colonel Yañez, enraged against the Spaniards and their half-breeds with that mortal hatred of the pure Indian race to which he belonged, had 100 persons shot at one time on 23rd October, among whom were ex-President Córdoba, another general, several colonels and three priests. In return 200 Cholos or Indian half-breeds were assassinated in the streets.

In the meanwhile the usurpers could not agree upon the division of the presidential spoils, and disorder reached such a height in 1861 that it was already discussed in Chili and Peru how the partition of Bolivia should be carried out. At last, in 1862, the National Convention elected General Acha president, but this election disappointed Ruperto Fernandez so much that the portfolios of the Interior and of Justice were not sufficient to satisfy his ambition, and in accord with Colonel Balza, whose regiment was in garrison at Oruro, he resolved to acquire by force of arms the title which had slipped through his hands. Balza made a *pronunciamiento* in favour of the pretender, marched on La Paz and raised the mob, which rushed tumultuously against the palace. Yañez, the author of the horrors of 23rd October, had taken refuge there, and, being attacked on all sides, tried to escape by the roof, but a discharge of fire-arms prevented him and his body was given up to the fury of the mutinous populace. The president arrived with superior forces and Fernandez had to abandon the place and take refuge in Argentine territory. A new attempt arranged by some generals in favour of Belzu, who had taken refuge on the frontiers of Peru, had a similar result, when General Perez, who had been sent against the rebels, proclaimed himself president in Chuquisaca, but was defeated by Acha between Oruro and La Paz.

While these events were taking place Linares perished miserably in Valparaíso. In him Bolivia lost a man of good intentions, who at least wished to deliver his country from militarism, which is the plague of the South American states. At the same time the president, Acha, submitted the ratification of his powers to an election which gave him a considerable majority. He brought into his administration some decided measures, and, guided by a spirit of conciliation, endeavoured to re-establish foreign relations, especially with France, which had been

interrupted by Belzu for ten years. Santa Cruz was accredited to Paris to reopen negotiations.

At the commencement of the year 1861 the republic had some serious difficulties with Chili on account of the territory of Mejillones, both countries claiming its rich deposits of guano. The affair was not settled until 1866, when the attitude of Bolivia in the Hispano-Chilian conflict brought some concessions on the part of Chili. A treaty signed on the 10th of August conceded to Bolivia the administration of the guano deposits, which were worked by a French company.

In the meanwhile some changes had taken place in the presidency. Acha, constantly battered in breach by the partisans of Belzu, had been wounded in an encounter with the rebels, led by Belzu in person, in January, 1865. A few days afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel Melgarejo excited his soldiers to rebellion in Cochabamba, installed himself in the Government House after a combat of twelve hours and took the title of provisional president, which Belzu wished to dispute with him ; but, being attacked by Melgarejo in La Paz, he perished in that battle. The conqueror might very well consider himself master of the situation ; he had already formed a ministry whose first acts were to proclaim a general and complete amnesty and reduce the duties on the exportation of the copper of Corocoro, a measure which would very much favour the export trade, when on 25th May Colonel Casto Agueda succeeded in seizing La Paz by a bold stroke. The struggle was indecisive for some time ; in July, 1865, Melgarejo had made himself master of the most important provinces, but had not yet succeeded in getting possession of La Paz or Cobija until the 6th of the month, when the former fell into his hands. Melgarejo, already sure of victory, convoked the citizens in order to proceed to the regular election of a president, the powers of head of the republic being entrusted to him until February, 1869. Melgarejo, who by his energetic character had risen from the ranks to the position of general, laid it down as his system of government to firmly maintain internal tranquillity, preserve the integrity of the territory, draw closer the relations of his country with foreign powers, and give an impulse to internal commerce and industry by means of a liberal legislation. More fortunate than his predecessors, he maintained himself in power ;

but the country continued its deplorable system of disturbances. A constitution drawn up in August, 1868, was abolished in 1869, when the term of office of Melgarejo expired. Another constitution, the work of an Assembly which met in Chuquisaca, was promulgated on 22nd November, 1871.

Colonel Agustín Morales, who was raised to the provisional presidency for a year on 20th June, and promoted by Congress to be general of division, received extensive powers from the Chambers. These he used to raise a loan for the construction of railways and to appoint a commission to open up means of communication in Bolivia. Morales promised besides to establish telegraphs and form centres of colonisation, two things that Bolivia completely lacked; but when he had just been proclaimed constitutional president by the Congress assembled at La Paz his death, which took place at the end of 1872, put an end to his projects. One railway, the only one that Bolivia possesses, was finished, the rest being abandoned for want of money. Frias, the president of the Congress, occupied the presidency of the republic for a short time. Ballivian also died just after he had been elected for the second time. He had found the country a prey to the rivalry of the generals who competed in arms for the dictatorship, and was replaced by Doctor Tomás Frias, 14th February, 1874. He also had to make head against insurrectionary movements and to contend with extemporised Governments. In January, 1875, he had to expel a directory from La Paz, where it had established itself.

To conclude, and to give an approximate idea of the fatal results that the system of continual revolutions has given to this unfortunate country, we will mention that the budget of 1873 and 1874 showed an annual deficit of 1,575,930 bolivianos or pesos, and that the public debt rose to 16,428,329 pesos. It is indeed sad to have to publish such facts, when they are the consequence of efforts, always unprofitable for the nation that makes them, and only profitable to a few ambitious men who ruin their country, the conquered of yesterday being the conquerors of to-day. In this quick succession of Governments and parties, of men and ideas, the national conscience vanishes little by little, and at last disappears. He who disposes of the army disposes of the power without consulting the nation at all; the caprice of

the conqueror is the only law, with no more reason than force nor more justice than violence. A state in this condition may be said to have lost consideration, tranquillity and fortune. If the republic does not relegate the agitating generals to their quarters and call the civil element to the head of affairs, it will find great difficulty in attaining to the development of labour and liberty united with order, which are indispensable conditions of all regeneration and progress.

## CHAPTER IX.

### PERU.

WITH the surrender of Callao, which the Spanish general, Rodil, defended to the last moment, the War of Independence terminated for the Peruvians, and the more difficult task of organising the country began. On 10th February, 1825, Bolívar assembled the representatives of what was then called Lower Peru in Lima, resigning his authority as dictator to the Assembly, a charge that he continued to exercise, at the instance of the Assembly, which would not accept his resignation. A short time afterwards the liberator drew up a constitution for the republic of Bolivia (Upper Peru), which was accepted by the representatives of the country in May, 1826, and by which the presidency for life was conferred on him. He also wished the same constitution to be adopted by Peru; this at first was refused by the Peruvians, but they afterwards consented, through fear of the anarchy which was threatened by the simple announcement that Bolívar had resolved to quit the country.

On the 9th of December, 1826, the anniversary of the victory of Ayacucho, the proposed constitution was sworn to; but the Peruvians, who saw with uneasiness their country occupied by a numerous, turbulent and somewhat undisciplined army, as soon as Bolívar left Lima in March, 1827, showed their discontent, expelling the army of the liberator. General Santa Cruz governed then as president of the Supreme Council; a provisional Town Council (a municipal magistracy suppressed by the new constitution), considering that this had been, according to their actual words, imposed by violence against the will of the people, addressed the said council, petitioning them to convoke a Congress of the legal representatives of the nation in order to deliberate on what it might be most proper to do under the circumstances.

The general elections took place, and in the month of July the Congress which had been elected abolished the constitution of Bolívar, appointing General La Mar president of the republic and D. Manuel Salazar vice-president. Santa Cruz had insisted on his resignation being accepted.

The new Government had not only to resist the sharp attacks of the Bolívarists, but also to make head against the efforts of Sucre, who, from Bolivia, endeavoured to re-establish the Colombian influence in Lima; but the former being soon master of the situation lent its aid to the Bolivians, who in their turn endeavoured to shake off the yoke. Bolívar published a manifesto in August, 1828, to which they energetically replied, casting all the blame, and especially that of aggression, on Bolívar, whom they called "the enemy of Peruvian independence". The army of Peru committed the error of invading the Colombian territory and was almost entirely destroyed, 25th February, 1829, in the battle of Siron. The liberator did not abuse his victory; he made a peace highly honourable to the conquered, to whom he left the free administration of their affairs, the Government of the United States guaranteeing the execution of this treaty.

La Mar, nevertheless, paid very dear for his conduct. The chief of his staff, Agustín Gamarra, taking advantage of the discredit into which he had fallen through this catastrophe, came to an understanding with another officer to oust him from power. The former seized the unfortunate president and sent him on board a vessel in Piura, while in Lima the audacious Lafuente took away from Salazar y Baquijano the power that he exercised provisionally in the absence of the president, declared himself supreme head, and called an Assembly in 1830 to appoint a successor to La Mar. The election disappointed the calculations of Lafuente, since it only conferred the vice-presidency on him and the chief authority fell into the hands of Gamarra.

This man was reserved and astute, and owed his rapid career to his wife, a beautiful and intrepid horsewoman, who had raised him from the lowest to the highest and most brilliant position.

Drawing-room triumphs were not sufficient for Señora Gamarra. Always on horseback among the soldiers, whose enthusiasm her presence excited, they saw her bear up against fatigue on the march, and always in the most dangerous post. Enthusiasm

bordered on delirium when, in reviews, sword in hand, and with the feathers of her hat floating in the wind, she galloped through the camp of manœuvres. At the end of 1831 Gamarra made two proclamations, one to the country and the other to the army, congratulating them on the re-establishment of friendly relations with Bolivia, and also, as he said, on the wished-for termination of internal disturbances, which had been succeeded by order and concord. But that order and concord were not to be very lasting. As a single proof of the truth of this assertion we will mention the plot formed against the life of the president. Its chief author was a captain, who, on 18th March, 1832, commanded his soldiers to fire upon Gamarra in Lima, but they refused to obey. The captain was executed, and the conspiracy went no farther, the year ending without any incident worthy of mention. The term of office of the president was about to expire; Gamarra assembled a Congress, on whose good-will he reckoned to extend it and obtain at the same time the revision of the constitution, but his hopes were disappointed. Raised by a woman, the women determined on his fall. The fair sex of Lima made their influence felt in the electoral balance in favour of D. Luís Orbegoso, a young and restless gentleman, a descendant of one of the first families of the city, and belonging to the white race. Gamarra, indeed, did not present himself ostensibly as a candidate, but put forward General Bermudez in opposition to the *protégé* of the ladies and of the upper classes of society, behind whom the president thought he would govern. Seeing that the power was slipping from his hands when he used legal means, he resolved to recover it by violence. In January, 1833, he made a military revolution which obliged the recently elected president to take refuge in Callao, while Bermudez received the investiture of supreme head in Lima; but this triumph was very short lived, because the mob, being raised, beat the soldiers of Gamarra, obliging them to flee, and Orbegoso himself pursued them. A battle took place near Jauja, and, although he was repulsed at the commencement, he gained the victory at last through the defection of Colonel Echenique, who commanded one of the chief corps of the insurgents.

While, however, the legal president again took the road to Lima and Gamarra sought refuge in Bolivia, Lafuente, of whom

we have already spoken, returning from exile, came expressly from Chili to seize the dictatorship. On the 1st of January, 1835, he raised the garrison of Callao ; the troops commanded by General Salaberry arrived from Lima to fight him, ten insurgents were shot, and Lafuente, hiding himself, was able to reach Valparaíso once more. Salaberry, young, daring, rash and proud of his victory, instantly conceived the idea of getting all the advantage possible out of it for himself. Two months had scarcely elapsed when he marched to the capital at the head of a body of rebels. On learning his approach the vice-president Salazar fled precipitately, followed by a few generals and about 100 soldiers. Orbegoso was then travelling over the province, and Salaberry took possession of Lima without effusion of blood, proclaimed himself supreme head and prepared to resist the attacks of the legal Government, which he called the "ambulatory". Seizing all authority and setting aside the constitution and the laws, he obliged the capitalists and the principal inhabitants to pay enormous sums, and the excesses committed by his recruiting officers, who had orders to enrol every one who fell into their hands, were so great that everybody sought the means of flying or hiding. All communication with the exterior was suspended and the roads were full of robbers, who even came into the city and discharged their firearms against the windows of the palace. Orbegoso had been able to hold the city of Arequipa, whence he implored the assistance of Bolivia. Santa Cruz crossed the frontier at the head of an army corps. We have already related what happened ; we have related in the preceding chapter how a confederation was formed between Bolivia and Peru under the protectorate of Santa Cruz, as well as how it terminated with the battle of Jungay, which was won by the Chilian army 20th January, 1839. In the previous year this same army, commanded by General Bulnes, had entered Lima and placed the authority in the hands of Gamarra, while Orbegoso, who had continued president of the state of the north, retired from the fortress of Callao, refusing to recognise that dictatorship imposed by the foreigner or to join it in order to fight Santa Cruz. The fall of the protector left Gamarra in tranquil possession of the presidency of Peru, and the republic enjoyed some tranquillity for a time—that is, until 1841.

At that date a revolution took place in Arequipa, which was promoted by Colonel Vivanco, who had himself proclaimed under the title of regenerator, and the provinces of Cuzco and Punó and a part of the army declared themselves in his favour. Gamarra ordered Castilla to pursue the revolted colonel, who was defeated and expelled from Bolivia, where at the moment *regenerators* abounded. Gamarra feared another attack from Santa Cruz and suddenly invaded Bolivia, intending to give the last blow to the partisans of the protector. We already know that he was killed a few leagues from La Paz, 18th November, 1841. The Bolivians in their turn entered Peru, and after some negotiations a treaty was arranged and peace was signed, 7th June, 1842, between both countries, through the mediation and under the guarantee of Chili.

Lafuente had been placed at the head of the army of the South, and San Roman, who commanded a division under him, separated from him and accused him of aspiring to the dictatorship. The two generals came to blows, and in this conflict Manuel Menendez, President of the Council of State, who carried on the Government during the vacancy of the presidentship, declared Lafuente a rebel and a traitor to the country, collected the forces which were scattered over the country and which had remained faithful, and put General Torrico at their head. The first act of Juan Crisóstomo Torrico was to depose Menendez and proclaim himself dictator by a decree dated at Lima on 16th August, 1842, by the first article of which he took on himself the executive authority of the republic until the civil war, excited by General Antonio Gutierrez de Lafuente, was ended, and a body of representatives of the nation was convoked.

Another pretender had got the start of him, nevertheless, and very soon the news arrived in Lima that, on the 29th of July, General Vidal had proclaimed himself supreme head in Cuzco by a decree of the same kind as that of his competitor, and that he had been supported in Arequipa by Vivanco, whom we see reappear in command of this province with the rank of general. Vidal was certainly not acting on his own account, but had been urged on by the restless Lafuente, who, wishing to make it appear that he was appointed in a legal manner, trusted in the result of an election which he thought he could manage according

to his wish. Coincidentally with these events, Orbegoso, who had taken refuge in Ecuador, sent a certain Colonel Hercelles to raise the province of Paita, but Hercelles entered into communication with Colonel Arrieta, who was sent against him, and the attempt failed. Then it was that Vidal and Torrico met in Agua Santa; the latter had to beat a retreat, and the former, after defeating him, made his entry into Lima.

The saying that the Tarpeian Rock is close to the Capitol could not be better applied than to the presidents of the republic of Peru, who succeeded each other during the period to which we have briefly referred. Vivanco had not renounced his old ambition; he had never submitted to Vidal, and if he accepted the command of the province of Arequipa that Lafuente gave him it was no doubt the better to hide his intentions and to remain near his partisans. Vivanco, like Gamarra, had an ambitious and resolute wife. One night, while all the city was sleeping, Doña Cipriana Latorre de Vivanco, armed with her youth and beauty, mounted a horse, and going a few leagues from Arequipa, where two regiments were encamped, awoke the colonels, who, fascinated by so many attractions, united with that dash of boldness, and enticed by her ardent words and extraordinary action, fell at her feet, declared themselves ready to follow her, and swore to die for her. There is a call to arms immediately; the soldiers rush together, surround her and acclaim her. Firmly seated on horseback, she addresses them by the light of the torches; hurrahs drown her voice, and it is all oaths of fidelity and shouts of enthusiasm. Her horse starts off at a gallop, the troop rushes after her and would have followed her to the world's end. The authorities in Arequipa, who were peacefully sleeping, were seized in their beds and kept in view by sentinels, and then, to the sound of the peals of bells, the irresistible lady had Vivanco proclaimed by the troops and the notables of the city assembled in the great square. Vivanco, who was at Cuzco, received the news of his romantic proclamation by a messenger. He took the title of supreme director and set out for Lima. Vidal, who was about to start, left his post quietly, and Peru registered one more revolution in her annals.

Ardent Lima received the president whom heaven had given her by such an extraordinary adventure with joyous feasting

and noisy demonstrations. Public rejoicings and salvos of artillery saluted the husband of Doña Cipriana, who was an elegant young man of distinguished manners, and personified the civilisation of his country in its most agreeable aspects. Bull-fights, cavalcades and processions reappeared in the city of the sun and of flowers, and the poets seized their lyres for the occasion. Doña Cipriana turned the heads of the men, and the women and the mob became enthusiastic at the sight of the elegant and distinguished Vivanco. Under these circumstances the supreme director thought he could seize the dictatorship with impunity, and in consequence he put off for a year the meeting of Congress, disbanded the numerous and useless staff of the army, dismissed dishonest officials and publicly reproved a venal and corrupt magistracy; but when he was about to carry out useful reforms he was drawn towards reaction and violence by a conspiracy whose chief instigator was the inevitable Lafuente. Some influential and prudent heads of parties were deported, among them Castilla, Minister of War in the time of Gamarra, and his chief of the staff in Yngavi. Castilla hastened to the south, raising it in the name of constitutional principles, and marched to the capital. Lima, which adored more than ever the ostentatious Vivanco and the seductive Cipriana, armed itself for resistance in the midst of the wildest manifestations. All the citizens enlisted. Castilla dared not advance and awaited reinforcements. Vivanco sent off a division which allowed itself to be surprised; he himself took the field, and several months passed during which the two armies sought each other without meeting, and this state of things would have continued unless an unforeseen accident had given it a new turn. Everything is unexpected in those countries which emerged only yesterday into public life. The governor of Lima, D. Domingo Elias, a man of influence by his social position and his wealth, quietly laid his hand on the power while Vivanco and Castilla appeared to be playing at hide and seek in the plains and the mountains of the south. On the morning of 17th June, 1844, escorted by about thirty soldiers, he marched to the palace of the presidency, and by means of a *pronunciamiento* declared himself president of the republic.

The result of that *coup d'état*, which was looked on with the greatest indifference by a part of the population of Lima, was to

secure the success of Castilla after a year of civil strife. Don Ramon Castilla, a native of Javacapa, on the frontiers of Bolivia, was at that time forty-eight years old. A captain in the Spanish army when the War of Independence broke out, he embraced the cause of the patriots and took part in the battle of Ayacucho. Engaged in politics since 1830, he was always seen in favour of the power that offered the best conditions of stability. Faithful for a long time to Orbegoso, who had appointed him general of brigade, he joined Salaberry when the latter put Peru into the hands of Santa Cruz, and in 1835, after taking part in the unfortunate combats of Yanacocha and Socoboya, he took refuge in Chili. When this country took up arms against Santa Cruz Castilla took the command of the cavalry and was present at the battle of Jungay. Obliged for the second time to go into exile after the defeat and death of Gamarra, he attempted to rally all the opponents of the usurper round the constitution, which was openly disavowed. Supported by the Generals Nioto and Iguain, he defeated Vivanco near Arequipa and entered Lima, where, in order to keep up the appearance of legality, Menendez, provisional president by right, after the death of Gamarra, took again the conduct of business while awaiting the elections. Their result, as was natural, was to call the conqueror Castilla to power on 19th August, 1845.

Under his administration Peru was tranquil; order was re-established in the public finances; the standing army was reduced, its organisation was modified, and voluntary enlistment was substituted for the conscription. There was a certain increase in the fleet, and the construction of steam vessels gave excellent results, and the establishment of the cannon foundry of Bellavista dated from this period. The different branches of national industry and commerce engaged the attention of the Government, and, with the working of the guano deposits, resources for the general prosperity, which was hitherto unknown, were established. The first railway which united the capital with the port of Callao was constructed.

On 20th May, 1851, Castilla gave an account of the position of the republic to Congress and resigned his authority to D. José Rufino Echenique, who had been elected to succeed him. This was the first time that the supreme power passed from one hand

to another without disturbance or revolution. General Echenique pronounced in favour of a reduction of customs duties and invited European emigrants. He had to oppose the insurrection which was attempted by the ex-dictator Vivanco and General San Roman, but public opinion was against him when he favoured the enlistments that Flores, the ex-president of Ecuador, made in Peru, having for this reason to dismiss the ministry. A dispute arose between the United States and Peru respecting the possession of the Lobos Islands, which are very rich in guano, in 1852; this was terminated through the mediation of France and England, who decided against the claims of the Government of Washington.

In the meanwhile the politics of the new president appeared to threaten the country with a counter revolution. Castilla made a new call to arms, and marched against Echenique at the head of a numerous party, and the latter, deserted by the troops, had scarcely time, on 5th January, 1855, to return to Lima and put himself under the protection of the English flag. At the same time his rival was proclaimed by the mob. The elections of 1858 restored power to Castilla or to the grand marshal, for thus the president of the republic was named. A little while after difficulties arose between him and the Congress, which was elected to revise the constitution, and which he ended by dissolving it, under the pretext that it employed its sittings badly and went beyond its rights in fixing the time when it should meet again. The fact is that the Congress had intended to depose him because he carried nebulous and despotic ideas into the internal government and foreign relations. On 10th December, 1859, the new elections took place, and gave as a result an Assembly which Castilla received with the firm intention of taking advice only from his own will, a resolution as unconstitutional as it was characteristic of a soldier. His known projects of conquest and annexation had gained him a popularity that he hoped to make use of in the last resort. About the same period Castilla attempted to dismember the republic of Ecuador and to annex that of Bolivia, taking advantage of the dissensions that he himself favoured in those two countries. The appearance in March, 1860, of a French vessel in the bay of Callao to demand certain indemnities and satisfaction for French subjects caused him to

lose all hope, a great part of his military prestige vanishing with this blow. He had to content himself with making some threats and protesting against the annexation of San Domingo to Spain.

On 10th November, 1860, the constitution was at last proclaimed which modified the compact of 1858, and, as a consequence, the powers of the state were divided among three separate and independent bodies : the executive, the legislative and the judicial. A Senate of forty-four members and a Congress, composed of 110 representatives, formed the second. The duration of the presidential term remained fixed at four years. A few weeks before a shot fired at the grand marshal had wounded him in the arm ; 150 men of a regiment had been associated in this attempt, which led to certain rigorous measures which on that occasion affected Echenique, Rivas and some other personages.

When the deplorable intervention of the French in Mexico took place, which the minister Rouher insolently called "the finest thought of the empire," and which was one of the chief faults of the imperial *régime* in France, Castilla launched a violent manifesto against the Government that came to destroy a republic in the New World, and offered assistance in arms and money to Juarez. The French residing in Peru were insulted, as it is asserted, at the instigation of the president.

Castilla transmitted the supreme authority to General Miguel San Roman, who was elected in June, 1862. The electoral struggle had been very sharp between the Government candidate and the Opposition represented by Echenique, whom the tribunals had set at liberty, General La Mar and Lopez Lavalle. Castilla, who had been suspected of the intention of retaining power for himself indefinitely, quietly retired into private life. At the same time the Opposition lost its chief, Manuel La Mar, who died at that time. Thus San Roman, who would be then about sixty years old, and who was recognised as an honourable man of good intentions, took the presidency under the most favourable conditions and found the country tranquil and entering fully on the path of economical and material prosperity. Under his direction the Congress set apart 2,000,000 pesos for public works and made a law in favour of the immigration of Asiatics. His predecessor had, nevertheless, left the republic involved in a certain number of

exterior quarrels, partly due to his dominating and quarrelsome character. Relations with France and England became strained, and were on the point of breaking off with the republics of Bolivia and Ecuador, the ideas of the president of the latter in favour of a European protectorate making him suspected of treason against America. San Roman feared some attack from the interior ; the real state of affairs was exaggerated ; he believed there was imminent danger, and on 2nd January, 1863, asked Congress to invest him with extraordinary powers ; but as this meant the dictatorship Congress would not accede to his demands. San Roman gave way and made every effort to appease and conciliate men's minds in favour of the good of the country. His programme, contained in his message of 3rd February, promised an economical and effective administration, but he was not able to carry it out, having died on 3rd April of the same year after a long illness, leaving such remembrances of his probity that Congress voted his family a donation of 100,000 pesos.

General Juan Antonio Pezet, the first vice-president elected under the constitution, was at that time travelling in Europe, and General Canseco, the second vice-president, undertook the Government until his return, and Castilla the command of the army, politics remaining in the same state. Pezet reached Lima at the beginning of August, and from the first moment appeared very zealous for material interests, showing in his addresses that he earnestly desired peace both at home and abroad. He had lived a long time in France, and there had made himself acquainted with the improved methods employed in public offices, endeavouring to make the Government of his country benefit by the knowledge that he had acquired. The difficulties with Ecuador, Bolivia and the United States had already been amicably settled, as well as a more serious dispute with Brazil with respect to the Brazilian navigation of the river Amazon, when another question arose in which France intervened. It was a question of putting a stop to the ill-treatment of some natives of Polynesia, who, being taken by surprise, were used with gross inhumanity. In this affair also he came to a good understanding, and the Government of Peru purged itself from the stain of any complicity in such a shameful affair.

Another cause of difficulty with respect to France was presented by the war with Mexico, which cannot be sufficiently deplored, since, coinciding with the recovery of San Domingo by Spain, it was looked upon as a menace against the independence of the New World. Public excitement reached an extreme point, and showed itself by manifestations hostile to European action and in subscriptions in aid of the wounded Mexican patriots. Pezet abstained from any act of interference or provocation, but did not remain indifferent when the war was ended. He was the first to propose that all the American republics should assemble in a congress, by which a defensive alliance might be formed against every enterprise that menaced their liberty. The proposition of a congress for peace was made, nevertheless, when the greater number of the nations who should meet in it were at war among themselves; Peru itself had to make head against graver complications on account of the sudden occupation of the Chincha Islands by the Spanish squadron, and, as a consequence, this idea had no better success in South America than it has attained in Europe whenever some generous men, always unheeded, have tried to put it in practice. Worthy of note, also, in the history of this country are the efforts that its governors have made to establish a good understanding with the neighbouring states as well as with those of Europe, to calm men's minds at home and to direct the efforts of the country towards agricultural and industrial production. From this period dates the establishment of a school of arts and trades in Lima, of a breakwater in Callao and various concessions for railways laid out to place the ports of the Pacific in connection with the mines and the regions still unexplored of the interior. Guano became at the same time one of the chief resources of the treasury, and a remarkable increase in the produce of the customs duties was noted at that time. Nevertheless the public finances continued in a bad state owing to the increase it was necessary to make in the military and naval forces, which circumstances rendered more and more necessary. The law of 14th February, 1853, had established the decimal system, and in consequence the country was already free from its old difficulties in monetary affairs.

Such was the position of Peru when the sudden and violent seizure of the Chincha Islands by the Spanish Pacific squadron,

14th April, 1864, involved it again in complications. That act, which we shall not describe, carried out by the extraordinary special commissary of his Catholic Majesty, D. Eusebio Salazar y Mazarredo, with the assistance of Admiral Pinzon, was so much the more serious as Spain would never recognise the independence of Peru. The very title of commissary, conferred on the agent of the queen, appeared to signify that Peru continued to be a Spanish colony, and the seizing a part of its territory took the character of a recovery.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ribeyro, was firm and dignified in his conduct, and in reply to the Spanish admiral, Pinzon, said that the declaration that he had remitted to him would be placed in the archives of the ministry as a testimony of the insult offered to the republic, as a document destined to stimulate in the Government and in the heart of every Peruvian who should read it the sentiments of national pride which had been so imprudently wounded. That it would be unworthy of the Government of Peru to discuss the assertions made in the said document as long as he who wrote it was in possession of a part of the national territory.

"Whatever your conduct may be now or in future," he added, "you may be assured that the Spaniards residing in Peru will continue to enjoy the most complete security in their persons as long as they continue attending to their affairs peaceably and honourably.

"Peru has progressed too far in civilisation since she declared herself independent of the mother country to make it necessary to take advantage of the presence of the Spaniards as hostages for its security. It is you who have revived a custom of war of the barbarous ages and unworthy of the general of a nation that boasts of being civilised."

Judging by the terms in which the Peruvian press expressed itself, and especially the *Mercurio*, a periodical published in Lima, public opinion in Peru was decided and inflamed with the desire to avenge the insult received, and never had such enthusiasm been seen in all classes of society. The various ministries, the academies, colleges, societies and trade guilds offered life and property to the Government for the defence of the country. The municipalities and the representatives of judicial

power protested against the crime committed by the Spanish flotilla. The clergy also gave remarkable proofs of patriotism in those solemn moments, and the Archbishop of Lima, the head of the Peruvian Church, together with the chapter, condemned that unjust occupation, offering their physical and moral co-operation with the greatest self-denial, not excluding any kind of sacrifice, until Peru obtained complete satisfaction. The rectors of various parishes in Lima and the neighbouring towns showed no less patriotism by expressing their indignation publicly.

The Government of the republic had from the first moment taken all necessary means for the defence of Peru and for the recovery of its rights. Congress authorised the president to raise a loan of 50,000,000 pesos in order to increase the army by 20,000 men and the fleet by twenty vessels of war. In England and France the press was unanimous in censuring such an abuse of strength committed by a European nation. The whole of America was indignant on learning the fact, and especially Chili, in which republic the mob made several manifestations hostile to Spain. Before such a strong expression of public opinion the Spanish Government no doubt hesitated ; and the fact of Pinzon being replaced by Pareja in the command of the squadron of occupation, together with the dignity and moderation with which the Government of Peru conducted itself in such difficult circumstances, led to a satisfactory solution of that extraordinary conflict without effusion of blood, and the preliminaries of peace were signed 28th January, 1865, on board the frigate *Villa de Madrid*, which was anchored in the roads of Callao.

In the meanwhile the president was accused of weakness on all sides, and on 25th May the mob demanded war with loud cries at the gates of his palace, force having to be used, by the advice of Castilla, to restore order ; nevertheless, the grand marshal was not long in joining the party which desired recourse to arms. Elected president of the Senate 26th July, his warlike enthusiasm was displayed with all its force, and he appealed to Pezet with great energy, demanding of the Government the initiative in an offensive league of all the American states against Spain and the immediate breaking out of hostilities. Under these conditions the Chamber of Deputies, making use of a subter-

fuge which was certainly undignified, hastened to suspend its sittings in order not to have to approve the treaty of 28th January, which General Vivanco, who had charge of the negotiations, had just brought to Lima. The president signed the provisional treaty, as was prescribed by the constitution, it having to be ratified by the next Chamber. Unfortunately, that document, which, it appeared, ought to be subscribed at any price in view of the scanty means of defence that Peru relied on, was converted into an arm that the enemies of the Government very quickly wielded. On 29th January cries of death were uttered against the Spaniards, and on the 5th of February some sailors from the squadron were attacked in Callao and one of them was killed. The president arrived with the cavalry ; in Lima the mob rushed together with the cry of "Death to the Spaniards !" and while the troops were repressing the tumult and blood was running down the streets, Castilla censured the president in violent terms for signing the treaty with Spain. Castilla was arrested in open session and carried on board a vessel of war which set sail for Pará. There was no less excitement in the provinces ; Colonel Prado, the Governor of Arequipa, proclaimed himself dictator and established his Government in Arica. Punó, Cuzco and the populous intermediate provinces also organised themselves in rebellion, and the second vice-president, Canseco, escaped from the capital to go and join the insurgents. On the 7th of May the loyal troops recovered Arica. In Lima an attempt of the municipal guard which was on duty at the palace was repressed on the night of the 10th and 11th of May ; but in that of the 23rd and 24th of June the marines, obeying some of the subaltern officers, rose in revolt in the port of Arica, and Rear-Admiral Janizo, part of his staff and the sub-governor perished in the fight.

President Pezet, remaining faithful to his policy, received the minister plenipotentiary of Spain on 5th August, and a month later Prado notified the accession to power of General Canseco to all the accredited representatives in Lima except the Spanish minister. These events coincided with the blockade of the Chilian ports by the Spanish squadron. The firmness with which the Chilian Cabinet accepted the struggle made the weakness with which Pezet had been so much reproached appear more clearly,

and he was even accused of selling himself to Spain. The populace became enthusiastic at the idea of carrying aid to Chili in that conflict, which had been a consequence of the sympathy she had shown to Peru. The army in revolt marched on the capital, led by the same idea, and Pezet went out to meet it with 10,000 men well equipped and sixty guns ; but when, on 6th November, he arrived in sight of the enemy, his generals refused to obey him, and Canseco entered Lima easily. Pezet nevertheless defended himself with a handful of men, commanded by Colonel Gonzalez, who disputed the streets foot by foot ; shut themselves up in the palace, and there stood a siege of six hours against more than 12,000 men, with whom the populace of the environs had joined. Prado saved that brave man from the fury of the insurgents by claiming him as his personal prisoner ; the palace was taken, and Pezet was able to reach Callao, where he took refuge on board an English corvette. On the 7th of the same month the revolution had triumphed everywhere, and Canseco, without attributing to himself any other authority than that of second president, which legally belonged to him, formed his ministry. A decree of the 13th impeached the fallen president, the ministers and public officials, calling them all, with the greatest levity, thieves and assassins. When Pezet was demanded for extradition, the English minister replied that he had embarked for Panamá.

Canseco had no intention of breaking off relations with Spain, and thus it was that he entered into secret communications with the representative of that nation, hoping that the popular effervescence would soon subside. He did not wish to act outside the constitution and legality, nor to keep more power than that which universal suffrage conferred on him, which demonstrates how much political habits were tending to change. This does not mean to say that the era of violent dictatorships had terminated for ever, but that men were found who gave the high and salutary example of respecting the laws. Canseco, the man of legitimate measures, very soon learned that he did not suit the interests of the military chiefs, always greedy, in Peru as well as elsewhere, of immoderate rewards and of employments such as only an absolute power could offer them. On 25th November they deposed Canseco and conferred the dictatorship on Colonel

Prado. The populace was called together on the next day in the great square, and there some hundreds of persons acclaimed the colonel, who, thinking this appointment sufficient, accepted the *burden of power*. The edict relating to his accession, published with great pomp on the 28th of the same month, set forth that he only accepted the dictatorship, "indispensable for the salvation of the country," according to the formula always used in similar cases, because Canseco had refused to exercise it. Canseco protested in vain that he only ceded to force; the military bands, salvos of artillery and the peals of bells drowned his voice. All this confusion prevented them from attending, as they ought to have done, to a reactionary movement which broke out in Ica, a town of 12,000 inhabitants, situated at 100 kilometres from the capital.

The new Government declared that it would be frankly revolutionary, committing a strange abuse of words, since it thought least of all of consulting universal suffrage. A tribunal was instituted to judge in the last resort and without appeal those who had negotiated, signed or executed treaties or conventions contrary to the national honour. The Spanish question, which had first thrown Pezet from power and afterwards Canseco, continued to be the great difficulty of the situation. Nor did Prado appear much disposed for a rupture, although, on the other hand, he feared the unpopularity which had made his predecessors succumb. He knew that the revolution which had raised him to power had sprung chiefly from the desire of resisting the exactions of Spain, and eighteen days had passed since the deed of 25th November without the diplomatic body receiving the usual notification; but all hesitation ceased on receiving the news of the capture of a Spanish ship by a Chilian corvette and of the suicide of Admiral Pareja. On 13th December the Minister of Foreign Affairs addressed the expected circular to all the members of the diplomatic body except the Spanish minister. This was equivalent to considering the convention of 28th January as not accepted, and the Spanish representative embarked on 21st December with all the members of the legation. At the end of this month Peru made a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with Chili, to which shortly afterwards Bolivia and Ecuador adhered, and war was declared against Spain, 14th January, 1866.

On 21st March the bombardment of Valparaíso took place. On 2nd May eleven Spanish ships, ranged in order of battle, opened fire on the batteries of Callao, the attack being as sharp as the defence was well conducted. The Spanish squadron at last abandoned the roads after losing some 300 men. It is true that the Peruvians counted about 1000 slain, and among them the Minister of War, José Galvez; but the advanced Liberals and the Government did not on this account cease to consider it as an advantageous result for the republican arms, and it was celebrated with transports of patriotic pride. The defenders of Callao made a triumphal entry into Lima; they all received promotion, and the construction of a monumental fountain was decreed in commemoration of that defence, which was officially described, but not very correctly, as a great victory.

When the Spanish war was ended the Government met with difficulties at home, which arose from the modifications it had introduced into the fiscal and administrative system. Canseco, who was expelled from the presidency, reckoned on the popularity of the old marshal, Castilla, his brother-in-law, in order to reinstate himself. A decree regulating the manner of ringing the church bells and the manner of carrying the sacraments in public excited the clergy, produced a certain emotion among the women, and caused a sort of alarm. Religious fanaticism augmented the number of those who, tired of the dictatorship, demanded the re-establishment of the constitutional laws. The presence of Castilla gave a chief to the malcontents, and at the same time that an attempt at insurrection in the squadron, at that time anchored at Valparaíso, was put down, another conspiracy was organised in the provinces, at the head of which was Colonel Baltá, late head of the Cabinet. The dictator decided at last to convoke the electoral bodies, as much to elect deputies to the Congress, which was to draw up a new constitution, as to proceed to the regular election of a president. The voting, which was terminated at the end of 1866, gave the majority to Colonel Prado. Congress was opened 15th February, 1867; it refused to sanction the creation of a personal tax, passed a vote of censure on the acts of the dictator and forbade the president to commence or continue any negotiation with Spain without the previous authorisation of the Chamber. The Cabinet resigned

in a body. These events took place at the very time that the Indians were devastating the South and that Castilla, disembarking in arms, declared himself against Prado. Arequipa rose, and Canseco claimed power in a violent manifesto. The unexpected death of Castilla, exposed to fatigues that he was unable to bear at his age, gave a truce to the president. The old general was the most popular personage in Peru, and his death was generally felt. The fall of the Mexican Empire was another cause for diverting the attention of Peru, which received it with enthusiasm; a medal of honour was offered to Juarez, and Prado approved the vote of the Chambers which expelled the order of Congreganists who came from France from the schools and the French Sisters of Charity from the hospitals. After many sharp discussions Congress, at the same time that it confirmed the election of the president, adopted, 31st August, 1867, a new constitution which fixed the duration of the authority of the chief of the state at five years. It was laid down that the Catholic religion was the only religion recognised by the state, and the public exercise of any other form of worship was prohibited. This resolution, at the same time that it was worthy of a Government which, theoretically republican, was for a long time military and despotic, gives us an idea of one of the evils under the influence of which Peru is sinking. During the long night of the conquest the gloomy Spanish fanaticism was introduced among this simple people. The Jesuit's habit has come between the frank and cordial regard of man and the resplendent beauty of nature, a fatal gift which makes us forecast many calamities.

The position of the executive power continued to be very critical; the treasury was exhausted, distress was general and discontent was more evident every day. In September Canseco raised Arequipa again, the first rebellion, in which even the women took part, having been suppressed; but the garrison soon made common cause with the populace, and recognised Canseco as legal president of the republic. The garrison of Trujillo rose in October and killed the governor; the North was disturbed by the insurrection which Colonel Baltá organised; and President Prado, leaving the Government provisionally with General Lapuerta, marched against Arequipa. In his absence

Lima had reached a high state of insecurity, and the representatives of foreign powers had to organise the subjects of their nations as militia to maintain order. The same thing happened at Callao. On 27th December Prado attempted the assault of Arequipa after having ineffectually employed conciliatory measures; the fight, which was sanguinary on both sides, lasted more than six hours, until the presidential troops turned their backs and the field remained in the power of the insurgents. Prado, who succeeded with difficulty in getting together 800 men, returned to Callao on board two ships of his squadron. In the North also the insurrection was successful, and the president, terrified by so many misfortunes, and having to oppose the Congress, which was hostile to him, had no other alternative than to resign, expecting his fall in a short time.

Baltá, being elected president for four years for restoring the constitution of 1860, took the oath on 1st May, 1868. A firm although a hot-tempered man, he displayed great activity in the development of public works; vigorously pushed on the construction of means of communication, and had the idea of turning the guano into railways; the waters of the interior were opened to the navigation of all classes and all countries, and an interesting industrial exhibition was held in Lima during the month of July, 1869. Under his administration Peru remained tranquil; but unfortunately the country had to suffer from several inundations and earthquakes, and a terrible epidemic of yellow fever. The discovery of the gold mines of Huacho, in October, 1871, caused a great excitement. The end of the president's term of office coincided with the renewal of the Cortes, the electoral contest, therefore, was very keen, and the squadron was disarmed as a measure of precaution. Arequipa, which at that period gave the signal for revolutions, caused some uneasiness, and the candidates there fought for victory with arms; the Government openly supported Echenique; Manuel Pardo had the sympathy of the populace, and Ureta also relied on many partisans. Baltá made an appeal to the electors, and requested them, in consideration of the violence of the contest, to give their votes in favour of Doctor Antonio Arenas. Echenique retired, and agreed to support the new candidate; but Pardo and Ureta persisted in their design, and the former, a sincere democrat, gained a con-

siderable majority. Baltá, following bad advice, declared from the first moment that he would not give up his post, but afterwards seeing that he could not resist the current of public opinion, he declared that he was ready to retire on 2nd August, the day on which his mandate expired. The man who most strongly endeavoured to induce him to make the *coup d'état* was Colonel Tomás Gutierrez, Minister of War, who, seeing that Baltá, respecting legality, consented to relinquish power, decided to violate the constitution for his own advantage. On the 22nd of July, 1872, he arrested the president, pronounced the dissolution of the Cortes, which unanimously declared him an outlaw, and proclaimed himself Supreme Head. Baltá, having attempted to escape, was assassinated in prison by Colonel Marcelino Gutierrez, brother of the usurper. On receiving news of this crime Lima rose in arms, and on the 26th of the month legality was re-established after a short struggle. The mob decapitated the brothers of Gutierrez, and he himself, being recognised in the act of escaping in disguise, was killed and his body hung on a lamp-post. A splendid funeral was made for Baltá; the vice-president, Ceballos, took the direction of affairs, and on 2nd August Manuel Pardo was proclaimed by Congress.

The civil element triumphed in the person of the new head of the state. His message indicated this in the plainest terms, and his observations were received very favourably by public opinion, which especially remarked some of them. The municipal and electoral organisation, "those two corner-stones of the constitutional edifice," were, according to his speech, the two questions that most imperiously demanded the support and protection of the legislators; afterwards, reform of the army was spoken of, with respect to which a law of conscription should be promulgated which would cause voluntary enlistment, which was considered a crime, to disappear in the shortest time possible. The previous administration maintained a considerable number of officers and functionaries who lived at the expense of the Treasury. Pardo, a man of clear intelligence and resolute character, thought it his duty to suppress those parasites and at the same time oppose certain financiers who took advantage of the necessities of the Government to make a large profit out of it and to accelerate its ruin. From this, as may be supposed, resulted much enmity,

but his conduct awakened much more sympathy. On 21st August, 1874, a captain of artillery, put on half-pay, attempted to assassinate the president; but he did not on this account cease to continue his loyal and patriotic enterprise with the same energy.

Pardo had found the national finances impaired in every way; Baltá had wished to go too quickly and had allowed himself to be carried away without any consideration whatever by the railway fever, which turned every one's mind. To meet pressing needs it was necessary to recur to measures which must produce a balance-sheet with a deficit in the budget every year; loans were multiplied; the security on the production of guano, in order to meet the foreign debt, deprived the Treasury of all receipts from this quarter, while those of the interior were notoriously insufficient to meet the expenses of the state. As a consequence of all this the railway works threatened to become paralysed, and a forced cessation from work of 20,000 workmen was feared. The emission of a new loan of £36,800,000 sterling overcame the difficulty. The needs of the administration were provided for by the increased receipts under new tariffs and by the product of the monopoly of saltpetre. The municipal expenses were provided for by the town councils, who, in return, had the right of electing their members. The principal objects that the Government proposed and towards which all its efforts tended were to ensure peace at home and to re-establish its credit abroad. Negotiations were set on foot with China and Japan in order to guarantee the good treatment of the coolies employed in agricultural or other labours. China, which boasts of not having known slavery except in the most remote times of her history, is, nevertheless, in our days a species of succursa to the great market of men of Africa, and the exportation of the coolies, as it is practised in certain ports, almost equals the horrors of the slave trade. The enrolment of these unfortunate men is not much more free than was the catching of the negroes of the Congo. The engagement which obliges them to work for eight years at least in the plantations of America for an initial wage of four pesos, and a later salary with which emancipated slaves would nowhere be content is imposed on them by force or they are surprised into it by deceit. The managers of the

emigration of coolies are called in China *pig-dealers*, and the cruelty with which the Asiatic labourers are treated in Peru, Cuba and other parts perfectly justifies the insulting name. The Government of Peru, by opposing this odious abuse, would not only perform an act of humanity, but would also give a proof that it knows its own interests. It should, like all the republics, its neighbours, make a constant appeal to immigration. Pardo has understood this, and for some years Chinese colonists have abounded in Peru. This colonist is laborious, economical, intelligent, docile, quiet and steady ; he is fit for any kind of work and stands the hottest climates. Many thousands of labourers from the Celestial Empire have been employed in the construction of railways and the working of the estates ; but they will not be retained, they will not be induced to fix their residence there except by treating them as free men, and attacking firmly and energetically the barbarous traffic to which they are exposed. After this, if the disorderly generals and seditious colonels are removed from politics, if the *cedant arma togæ* inspires the Peruvians in the future, a long period of peace and fruitful liberty may be foreseen for their beautiful and magnificent country.

From what we have just said it will be understood that Peru, since its independence, has been the theatre of many unexpected occurrences and disasters. It, more than any other country, has produced military chiefs, fantastical heroes who appear for a moment on the stage, shoot their adversaries and are shot in their turn ; masquerades, sometimes grotesque and at others sinister, where all the types of the Spanish repertory meet, and where some, too well known in the old legends, play the chief part. Complicated plot, treachery, intrigue, stabbing, nothing is wanting in this history of half a century, not even the disguised gentleman and the veiled lady of the old comedies. More fortunate, however, than her neighbour Bolivia, Peru, it appears, desires to put an end to the anarchy which until now has devastated the republics of South America, and promptly to enter on a period of tranquillity and progress. The events of 1872 would suffice by themselves alone to prove how the political aptitudes of the Peruvian people have progressed in the last few years. All will have been for the benefit of the country if these constant revolutions, these combats, sanguinary or simply ridiculous, and

which appear to us monotonous and objectless, concealed, as is to be supposed, a serious work of regeneration.

But how can we doubt of the future of this territory which is bathed on the west throughout its whole extent of 2300 kilometres by the Pacific Ocean? Bounded on the north by Ecuador, on the east by Brazil, and on the east and south by Bolivia, Peru offers, according to the latest official data, a territory of 1,605,742 square kilometres fitted for agricultural produce, the raising of stock, and for navigation, without reckoning the inexhaustible mineral riches hidden under its productive soil. When this country, so celebrated for the memory of the civilisation of the Incas, is spoken of, the mind transports itself rapidly to the depths of its mines, whose subterranean galleries hide the richest treasures of the world. These mines, which for three centuries loaded the adventurers who arrived from Spain with gold, are far from being exhausted; but the Peruvians at the present time neglect mining to employ themselves in less toilsome but more productive labours. Nevertheless, very considerable quantities of gold are still extracted from its sands, especially those of Carabaya, but much greater quantities of silver are extracted from the mines of Pasco, Punó, Guantajaya and Gualguayoc. The progress of industry, the new processes set on foot by science, the perfection to which the methods of working have been carried will multiply a hundred-fold the already fabulous results obtained in the past, with fewer agencies. And as if nature had desired to heap up riches on Peru she has placed the auriferous and argentiferous sites in the sterile lands and in the arid tracts of sand unfit for cultivation, where the hand of man is powerless to make them productive. The beds of the rivers, the depths of the rocks hold gold in enormous quantities; the flanks of the Andes yield lumps of pure silver of the largest size, the highest valleys abound in mercury, and the average production of the celebrated mines of Huancavelica, in the department of Ayacucho, was, during the period of the Colonial Government, more than 5000 quintals a year; the above-mentioned mines still yield a quantity of mercury which may be calculated at the rate of 2000 quintals annually; those of Chonta also yield a considerable amount. We might also mention the inexhaustible veins of copper, tin, lead, iron, sulphur, asphalt and nickel. Saltpetre

rises in proportion as it is collected, under the influence of certain meteorological causes ; salt abounds in the neighbourhood of the sea, at the bottom of some lakes and of certain rivers. To these many and various productions must be added stones which serve for building and sculpture, and others very valuable, as asbestos, porcelain earth, borax, etc.

Nevertheless, brilliant as this picture may appear, we must place it after that which the vegetable kingdom offers. Wheat, rice, coffee, sugar-cane, sarsaparilla and vanilla grow together in the temperate regions of the mountains ; excellent wines are produced in Moquegua, Pisco and the province of Arequipa, and cacao grows abundantly on the plains of the interior. Cotton, of which they have succeeded in obtaining three crops a year, yields for exportation to the value of more than 4,000,000 pesos annually, and flax and hemp yield their seeds to industry. Tobacco is of superior quality and abounds, as well as the nutmeg, ginger and pepper, in all the mountainous districts. The forests produce valuable woods for shipbuilding, cabinet-work and dyeing ; and pharmacy takes possession of a multitude of plants, as the coca, which has become indispensable to the labourers of the Andes, but whose virtues have been rather exaggerated in Europe. Besides, among the fruits peculiar to this country are some of exquisite flavour, as the chirinaya, the pina and the alligator pear, which may compete with the finest in the world.

If Peru is one of the richest regions of the globe in vegetable productions, it does not lose, but rather confirms the renown that it enjoys when those of the animal kingdom are examined. In the valleys of the coast and those of the interior, all the species of quadrupeds and domesticated birds that are known in Europe are met with. On the coast, the breeds of horses, mules, pigs and cattle are excellent, and many goats are reared in Piura. The plains and mountains of the interior are covered with herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, llamas and alpacas. The condor is found in the deserts of the Cordillera, and also numerous flocks of vicuñas, which are much sought after. The country on the other side of the Andes is distinguished for a great variety and number of birds, the greater part adorned with brilliant plumage, and for many reptiles and curious insects. Fish of various kinds and excellent quality abound in the rivers.

But what has enriched Peru much more than its gold mines, so much praised in other times, is the guano, that valuable manure which the sea-birds deposit on the desert islands near the coasts, such as the Chincha Islands, the Lobos Islands and others, whose working, monopolised by the state since 1842, has yielded on the average 16,000,000 pesos annually since 1860, and figures in the budgets of the last few years for a sum exceeding 112,000,000. The Peruvian guano owes its superiority over the rest to the peculiarity that it never rains on the coast, and thus the ammoniacal salts, which constitute the principal virtue of this manure, are not impoverished by the rains as in others. The Peruvian exchequer draws three parts of its revenues from the guano.

With its harbours of easy approach, its lake of Titicaca, a species of interior navigable sea, its beautiful river Amazon, traversed by many Brazilian, Ecuatorian and Peruvian ships, and with the various tributaries that carry their waters into its channel, Peru is destined to be one of the most commercial countries of the new continent. It already figures among the nations whose movement in exchange is very important. Twenty-two lines of railway cross it at present, putting the capital in communication with the Pacific Ocean, with its large river, with lake Titicaca, with the most fertile districts of the country, and with the pampa de Cardenal, which is only awaiting the projected irrigation works to become a new centre of population and commerce. One of them, connecting Lima with the summit of the Andes, is a marvel on account of the difficulties that have had to be overcome and of the skilful engineering required to raise it to a height of 5000 metres above the level of the sea. Peace must be secured, the young republic must demand from the Old and the New Worlds their instruments of labour, their means of locomotion and transport, their industrial discoveries and scientific genius, and also European emigrants to come and increase the numbers of its population. This, which, according to our data, does not yet reach but approximates to 3,000,000 inhabitants, grouped, for the most part, on the table-lands or scattered along the coasts, is a heterogeneous population, much more heterogeneous at all times than in the other nations of South America, in consequence of the attraction exercised by the mines and the aleatory character which these have impressed on commerce. The

Indians form a large proportion of this number ; the majority of them are civilised, but there are some tribes of wild or uncivilised Indians settled in the plains of the east. Their blood, mixed with white and black by continual crossing, has produced certain types to which the continual immigration of Spaniards, Italians, French, Germans, and even Chinese gives still more variety. Chili also and the republic of Ecuador contribute to this mixture of races.

In spite of everything Lima, the principal seat of power, the splendid colonial centre whence the royal extravagance continually drew the wealth of a whole world, still preserves something of the coquetry, the lightness of manners and the satirical spirit of the court. Spain has left her traces in this land of gallantry, elegance, sensualism and religious fanaticism, of excitement and of self-communion, of indifference and of passion. In Lima the people are generally gallant and witty, and devotion is nothing else for the women than one more way of understanding love. They are much loved, and take a real pleasure in being so ; their attractions are irresistible when they are dressed in the fashion of the country. They are always seen alone in the streets, shod with blue satin, and showing off the close-fitting skirt which complacently betrays their handsome forms. The first man who meets them may address them, sometimes even they make the advance, and with the veil thrown over their face and covering it completely they take delight in awakening the curiosity of the passer-by. Lima, *the paradise of women*, is the place devoted to amorous intrigues, equivocal adventures and a certain kind of scandals. Its squares, constantly refreshed by crystal fountains, surrounded by palaces and public edifices ; its wide streets, through the middle of which runs a deep and clear rivulet, and its vast public walks have, in broad daylight, the aspect of a masquerade. It seems like a Spanish city of the seventeenth century, rejuvenated and modernised by some ingenious decorator who has been careful to multiply the gaslights and to fill the shops with the most delicate and dazzling productions of modern industry ; or like an opera scene animated by a happy populace, rather than a capital harassed by a long and deplorable anarchy.

Nevertheless, Lima is not a capital solely ostentatious and

mundane. If the city of the viceroys has preserved a tincture of its former lords, as Cuzco, the ancient city of the Incas, preserves its Indian character and also its Indian population, it is none the less a centre of labour and instruction ; its inhabitants are much given to study, cultivating all the sciences and following with interest all the discoveries of the Old and the New Worlds. Its poets have nothing in common with the versifiers of the old times, who were educated by the Jesuits and Franciscans, and confined to the study of the classical works which were not prohibited ; its authors describe scenes of manners agreeably, and observe with keenness, there is penetration in their talent, and they handle ridicule with ability, and many of them have devoted themselves to comedy and the drama. Lima and Cuzco has each its university, and the former possesses besides an institute organised on the German system, of which the foundation-stone was laid on 1st January, 1873. On the same day took place the benediction of an industrial school founded by Pardo when he was only a judge. This school, which forms many workmen, has various class-rooms, around which are arranged workshops for carpentry, cabinet-making, smiths' work and printing. When the pupils have finished their education, they receive a sum of money to procure the means of setting up for themselves. This is a proof of the good resolutions that it appears must animate the Governments of Peru. The civil element will have had the glory of guaranteeing the triumph of the ideas of justice, of labour and of liberty, abandoned for so long to military frenzy.

We will terminate our historical review of Peru with a sketch of the customs of the Peruvians, which, although it is by a European, is as accurate as it is impartial :—

They are brave, but their chief virtue is a cordial and frank generosity which reigns everywhere, as much under the roof of the white man, very proud of his origin, as in the cabin of the almost uncivilised Indian. Rich and poor, in one form or other, do constant good services to strangers and among themselves. The poorest especially help one another with a touching solicitude.

In consequence of this general benevolence, the Peruvians give an ample and cordial hospitality to strangers, which, however, is rendered easy by the prosperity of many private persons, the fertility of the soil and the simple habits of the people.

Affable, like all people of Spanish race, they salute you with look

and head when you pass before their houses, and if, through curiosity or for pastime, you stop to look at them, men, women and children smile at you, and the master of the house says to you in his sonorous language, with soft and friendly voice, "Come in, sir; it is your house". Then they all stand aside, leaving the entrance free; the men offer you a cigar, the women make you a cigarette, which they light at their own and present it to you damp from contact with their rosy lips; the little children run to fetch you a stool or chair, sometimes the only one there is in the cottage; and then the master or mistress of the house offers you chocolate or aguardiente.

Nevertheless the Peruvians, who are in general noble, brave, generous and affable, have, like all mortals, vices and defects. Some may be reproached with their unbridled love of gain. Robbery, assassination, etc., are relatively much rarer in the settled part of the Lower Peruvian Cordillera than in Brazil or Europe itself. The Peruvian clergy, as well as all of South America, are accused, and not without reason, of neglecting their sacred ministry for temporal riches; of abusing, especially with respect to the Indians, their dominant position, and of drawing advantage by all imaginable means from the superstitious terror of these timid and affable men, who live even now under the influence of the absolute but civilising despotism of the old Jesuits; of constantly putting in practice certain commercial usages, blamable in laymen and worthy of punishment in the ministers of God; and lastly, and this is most grave, of forgetting too frequently and without disguise the vows of chastity, whence almost all the prestige enjoyed by the Catholic clergy is derived.

The extreme gentleness of the Peruvian is often converted into indolence. . . . Unfortunately all the towns of Peru have their taverns and *lojas*, where they drink and game madly. But the dominant passion of the country, that which, from one end of Peru to another (and also in a large part of the world), reigns as absolute mistress, is love. In one shape or other, the greatest part of the money gained by the Peruvian men of the cordillera passes into the hands of the Peruvian women. In Moyobamba itself, and in the various towns of the neighbourhood, love is the life of each individual, and in preference to a European dress, the lowest white bachelor has in a house apart, far from profane looks, under the plane trees, some soft-eyed fairy who waits anxiously for his coming. It is in her hand that the money which the sale of some hat or the gold dust that was collected the day before is placed, and then, however retired the town may be, the money is converted into handkerchiefs of French or Indian silk, China crape, rings, bracelets, etc.—in fine, into that which forms the graceful adornment of the fair half of mankind. . . .

## CHAPTER X.

### CHILI.

OF all the republics which were formed in our America on the emancipation of the Spanish colonies, Chili has had the least chequered existence. A period of prolific tranquillity has, for a long time, succeeded the first and inevitable crisis. The stability introduced into its institutions in good time has made Chili a prosperous commercial and industrial nation, essentially agricultural and pastoral, and with a natural inclination for material progress. The character of its inhabitants, tranquil, reflective, little inclined to excitement, too punctilious perhaps, has been favourable to internal quietness. Among the nations of South America the Chilians most resemble Europeans; their customs and institutions, still rather aristocratic, have a certain analogy with those of England.

It may be said, on the other hand, that the nature of the country protects it against civil war better than against foreign invasion. Its climate and products also resemble those of the temperate climates of Europe. Occupied by more than 2,000,000 inhabitants, between those of Spanish race scarcely mixed with Indian and African blood, Indian aborigines, and half-breeds of European and indigenous races, Chili extends from north to south, measuring 343,458 square kilometres, and forms a strip, bounded on one side by the Pacific Ocean, and on the other by the gigantic mountain range of the Andes for a length of 2200 kilometres. A country enclosed in such a manner between the sea and the mountains offers few resources to the conquered to hide, take breath and form again. Insurrections last but a short time, and victory is almost always decided after the first battle. For this reason civil wars have not been permanent in Chili as in the neighbouring republics, Bolivia, for instance, which is its

northern limit, where vast deserts offer a secure refuge to the vanquished but not discouraged parties.

It will be remembered that, after Chili had recovered her independence, she sent an expedition to give independence to Peru, which was the last of the Spanish colonies to throw off the yoke of the mother country ; and also that on 22nd July, 1822, a Congress was convoked in Santiago, to which O'Higgins resigned the dictatorship, which had been confided to him, according to his own expression, in less happy times. His resignation was accepted by Congress, and the title of Supreme Director was conferred on him three days later. On 23rd October the constitution was promulgated, which, if it had some defects, sanctioned the abolition of slavery.

Discontent did not delay to show itself in various provinces, chiefly in Coquimbo, which complained that the working of the mines was neglected. General Freyre resolved to make use for his own advantage of this discontent and of that of his soldiers for the neglect from which they suffered, and, being aided by some friends, raised the above-mentioned province, whose Committee of Government declared on 22nd December "that in the future the provinces of Coquimbo and Concepcion would consider themselves in every point independent of the Chilian Republic". The constitution voted by the Congress of Santiago was declared null and void, and the director O'Higgins was declared to be deposed. Freyre marched at the head of the revolted troops against Santiago, the garrisons of Quillota and Aconcagua, which were sent to bar his passage, joining him on the road.

During these events the partisans that Freyre had in the capital demanded that the director should abdicate his office, to which he agreed on condition that a committee should be formed which could receive his resignation and put itself at the head of the Government, and this being done he quitted the capital and went to Valparaiso. After the retirement of O'Higgins Freyre was nominated to succeed him, his first resolution being to convene for June, 1823, a new Congress which changed the constitution. Freyre did not succeed in putting an end to the evils that had been attributed to the want of judgment of O'Higgins, and on this account signs of discontent became general, when an

attempt made by the former in the archipelago of Chiloë gave occasion for the agitation to increase to such an extent that Congress, in order to restrain it, conferred, although only for a short time, the dictatorship on the director; but this measure did not restrain the factions, and the disorder and confusion reached their height. To re-establish order, Congress, by a decree of 17th May, 1825, conferred the dictatorship again on Freyre for a month and dissolved itself. This measure was scarcely taken when new insurrections broke out, the supreme director being obliged to fly to Santiago, and order could only be re-established by seizing and exiling the principal disturbers of peace.

About this time Freyre sent against the archipelago of Chiloë, which was governed in the name of Spain by Quintanella, an expedition composed of 4000 men and a squadron of two frigates and some smaller vessels, which set sail on 2nd January, 1826. After numerous actions, in which the Chilians almost always gained the victory, Quintanella was obliged to sign a capitulation on the 19th, in virtue of which the whole archipelago remained in the power of the republic. This conflict gave occasion for fresh disturbances, because the inhabitants of San Carlos, encouraged by a military insurrection, met in sovereign assembly, which, on 25th May, sent a decree establishing a special Government for the archipelago, presided over by Manuel Fuentes, with the title of intendant governor.

A new Congress having assembled in Santiago (14th July, 1826) desirous of re-establishing peace and tranquillity and of attending to the demands that were made to it from all sides, declared that the form of government should for the future be federative. Not even by giving this satisfaction to the aspirations of the provinces did it succeed in re-establishing calm, since fresh disturbances broke out at the beginning of 1827. The Congress, discontented with the ministers, had them seized during a sitting of the council, dismissed the provisional director, and obliged General Freyre to accept this office, which he had resigned on the opening of the Chamber, and a few days after annulled this decision and accused Freyre. While the legislative power attacked the executive, the provinces refused to obey the contradictory decrees of the Congress; on account of all this the director, in despair at seeing himself impotent to put a stop to

such grave evils, presented his resignation to the Congress in the following terms: "Convinced that I have not the talent necessary to command without laws, nor to put order in the chaos in which Chili now is, my duty commands me to beg Congress to relieve me of the insupportable task which it has confided to me. I shall always submit to its august power when it is a question of going to fight; I am ready to sacrifice myself for everything, but I do not wish to undertake any office in the political government of the country." The resignation of Freyre was accepted, but no successor was appointed, Pinto performing the duties of chief magistrate as vice-president.

In this, as in the other South American republics, the disputes between Unionists and Federalists occasioned, as we have seen, and as we shall yet have occasion to see, continual agitation, insurrections and changes of president and constitution. On 24th February, 1828, the Congress met, first in Santiago and then in Valparaíso, in order to discuss a new constitution which, being the work of the Radicals or Federalists, it is needless to say was based on the principles of the most Radical democracy. Congress, knowing the dangers of the chief magistracy being exercised by one not holding the title, raised Pinto to the presidency, this being the first time since the foundation of the republic that this high office had been legally filled. This title, nevertheless, was not sufficient for the new president, in order that all parties should respect him, and in a short time the province of Concepcion, in which the federalists always found support, was in open rebellion against the president and the Congress which had elected him. Pinto, desirous of pacifying the country, determined to retire into private life, and resigned on 20th October, 1829. The federalists appointed General Lastera as his successor.

The Opposition, that is, the Unitarians, known, in allusion to their retrograde tendencies, by the nickname of *Pelucones*, or the *Wigs*, had General Joaquin Prieto at its head, and in its ranks a citizen named Diego Portales, who was very soon to play an important part. The dispute between the Unitarians and the Federalists became more inflamed with the resignation of Pinto, and in a short time an insurrectional committee was formed in Santiago. In the month of December the two parties met in a sanguinary combat in Larcay, the *Pelucones* gained the victory,

and hastened to exile the chief defenders of the constitution of 1828, declaring it "null and void".

To resist the Radicals, under the well-known pretext that the country was not yet prepared for liberty, and to oppose an obstacle to the abuses that the triumph of the upper or rich classes and the clergy could not fail to bring or to resuscitate was the trimming policy that prevailed in the Government councils. A similar political thought inspired the authors of the constitution of 1833, in which they made visible efforts to reconcile liberty and republican forms with a very strong and almost independent executive power, giving a large place in it to the advantages of fortune if not of birth, at the same time that they recognised the rights of the people.

The constitution of 1833 recognises and establishes three powers—the legislative, the executive and the judicial. The first is exercised by the National Congress composed of a Chamber of twenty senators, named by special electors, and whose functions last for nine years, and a Chamber of Deputies elected for three years by direct vote, at the rate of one deputy for every 20,000 inhabitants. In order to become a senator it is necessary to have completed thirty-six years of age and to possess an income of 2000 pesos, to be a deputy an income of 500 pesos only is necessary. The executive power is exercised by a president, the supreme head of the nation and of the administration, elected by indirect suffrage, his powers lasting five years, he being eligible only once. The right of re-election was prudently suppressed in 1871. The president has, besides, the command of the land and sea forces and can proclaim martial law. The judicial power has the exclusive right of judging, the jury being admitted for press offences only. The constitution guarantees liberty of the press, and a decree of 25th September, 1846, established a special tribunal for these offences composed of a judge of first instance, and jurors taken from a list which is drawn up every year by the municipal council of the towns in which any periodical is published. The constitution also guarantees inviolability of domicile, proclaims liberty of trade, prohibits unusual judicial sentences and declares slavery abolished.

Portales, one of the suggesters of this code, insured its enforcement during the years that he was at the head of the Ministry.

When the term of office of Prieto, whom Congress had raised to the presidentship, expired in 1835, the election of Portales was discussed ; but he would not accept the candidature which his numerous political friends and admirers offered him, employing all his efforts and influence in order that Prieto might be re-elected.

It was about this time that Santa Cruz, who had become the head of the Peruvio-Bolivian Confederation, furnished arms and vessels of war to the Chilian exiles led by Freyre. Public opinion attributed ambitious views to Santa Cruz, whose intervention might have appeared necessary in case of a civil war. Freyre descended as far as Chiloë, where he remained for a fortnight, supported by the enthusiasm of the inhabitants of San Carlos. Defeated and obliged to fly in the boat of a fisherman, who was to take him on board an American whaler, Freyre said to his conductor : " I have not a real, but I will never forget you, and some day you shall be rewarded ; " but the fisherman, not trusting much to the future, had the baseness to betray the fugitive for an ounce of gold. War was declared against Santa Cruz ; the army that was in Quillota, near Valparaíso, was organised and awaiting the signal to start, when four companies, instigated by Colonel Vidaurre, revolted while Portales was holding the last review. The minister was made prisoner, and the revolted troops marched on Valparaíso. The governor of the city, supported by the national guard and the seamen, posted himself in a position easy to be defended and blocked the road to the troops of Vidaurre. The encounter took place in the middle of a winter's night in the month of June. A well-escorted barouche went in the rearguard of the insurgent army. A man descended from this carriage and walked steadily to the side of the road, shots were heard, and the man fell. When the first light of dawn illumined the field of battle the national guards carried away a body pierced by four bullets ; it was that of Portales. The first shot fired by his friends determined the insurgents to pronounce his sentence of death, which was executed on the spot. The heads of the movement who fell into the hands of the conquerors were taken to Valparaíso to be shot. They all bravely faced death. The tragical end of Portales awakened many vivid memories ; he left to his country an honoured memory and many institutions that he

himself was far from considering as perfect and definitive. The reformation of the clergy and of the courts of justice ; the creation of national guards ; the organisation of the police ; and, above all, the confidence of the country, which was secured by governmental action, give this administrator a claim to public recognition.

The first attempt of the Chilians against Santa Cruz produced no result, but the second seriously weakened the authority of the protector and destroyed his political edifice. Chili, in consequence of the good financial administration of Rinjifo, the intelligent and active friend of Portales, was able to provide for the expenses of the expedition without a loan. The triumph of the Chilian arms attained the double advantage of making the republic respected abroad and of securing that tranquillity at home which it has continued to enjoy.

Prieto retired from power in 1841 and found a continuator of his policy of moderation in his successor, General Bulnés. Under his administration Spain at length recognised the independence of Chili. The successor of Bulnés, in 1851, was an old professor of the University of Chili, a man of distinguished talent, named Manuel Montt, attached, like himself, to the Conservative party. After the elections, which had very much excited men's minds, insurrectionary movements broke out in various places. In San Felipe a *Junta de la legalidad* succeeded in establishing itself. The new president gave the command of the army to his predecessor Bulnés, who secured the final triumph of the Government, and by retiring into private life, set an example, certainly very new in South America, but glorious everywhere, of a victorious soldier laying down his sword before a civil magistracy. Fresh disturbances broke out in 1858. This time the enemies of the president were the retrograde Conservatives, or *Pelucones*, and the Radicals, who, united, were on the point of overthrowing him. The foundation of a Protestant chapel in Valparaíso was the pretext taken by the ultraconservatives, incited by the Catholic clergy. The Radicals, taking advantage of the circumstances, demanded reforms in the constitution and opened a *Constituent* Club in Santiago, which the Government wished to dissolve, as contrary, by its nature, to the stability of public order ; but it was not obeyed. It appealed to force, made

several arrests, and martial law was proclaimed in the cities of Santiago and Valparaíso. As a consequence of these measures Copiapo rose in revolt, and the urban guard took up arms to expel the lawful authorities. A young man named Pedro Leon Gallo was proclaimed intendant and commandant of arms. A short time after the victorious Radicals seized Talca and occupied it for about a month.

Important reforms were carried out even in the midst of all these complications. Chili, like the rest of the South American colonies, had inherited from her old masters a confused collection of laws and customs taken from the Roman law, the *Partidas* of Alfonso the Learned, the *Ordenanzas* of Bilbao and the ancient *Colonial Jurisprudence*. A scheme which reduced all these documents to order was submitted to Congress at the suggestion of the president, was approved in all its parts, and had the force of law from 1st January, 1859. The European jurisconsults recognise in this scheme a clear, simple and profound method, a happy alliance of Roman law, Spanish law and the French laws imbued with the spirit of 1789.

The position of Montt was becoming more difficult. The generals lent their assistance unwillingly to a president of the civil order. At the same time that he endeavoured to accommodate differences with them he got the Congress to give him extraordinary powers, defeated the insurgent army on the plain of Penuelos, and obliged his adversaries to have patience at least until the regular election of another president, if they wanted to make their pretensions or votes legally valid. In reality, these attempts had not affected the foundation of the institutions. José Joaquin Perez was called into power by the elections of July, 1861. No disorder accompanied his accession, which took place in the following September. His presidency was the result of the fusion of all parties who had concerted together to secure his triumph. Perez, a man of sound views and inclined to conciliation, entered on his presidential office by an act of clemency; he induced the Chambers to sanction a complete amnesty for all political crimes committed since 1851; and later, in March, 1863, restored the rank which they held in the army to the officers who were compromised in the insurrection of 1859. The advantage of the combination which had raised him to power was that

it did not mean the victory of one of the two opinions over the other ; it had nevertheless the disadvantage of obliging him to carry out a policy of counterpoise and compromise. This policy, which retrograded just when it was taking effect, had no other result in fact than to diminish the influence of the Government. The advanced party accused Perez of weakness ; the Conservatives blamed him for not conforming to their programme, and accused him of ingratitude because, they said, he favoured the Liberals. In the Congress the Conservative Opposition had the ex-president Montt for their leader. The Government, nevertheless, secured an almost complete triumph in the elections of March and April, 1864.

At the same time that the executive power was thus consolidating itself at home, very grave complications arose abroad. On 14th April, 1864, the Spanish squadron seized the Chincha Islands. Chili, on account of her proximity to Peru, was greatly excited on learning that Spain endeavoured to recover the possession of those islands, an act which gave the character of a truce to the cessation of the war since 1825. Before the danger which threatened Peru, the Chilians desired to take up arms and be ready to help her, and for this purpose energetic and patriotic manifestations took place all over the republic. When the treaty of Callao had put an end to the Hispano-Peruvian war, Spain turned against Chili and addressed certain remonstrances to her concerning her attitude during this war. Apologies were made which satisfied the representative of Madrid at Santiago, as he declared on 20th May, 1865. A good understanding appeared to be re-established when the news was received, on 12th September, that the resident minister of Spain, Tavira, was recalled ; that the arrangement signed by him was not accepted, and that orders had been given to Admiral Pareja to sail for Chili escorted by five vessels of war.

The Chilian nation was celebrating the annual festivals of its independence, on the arrival of the new Spanish negotiator, to whom a deep hatred and mean prejudices against Chili were attributed. On 17th September, Pareja appeared on board the frigate *Villa de Madrid* before Valparaíso, that large and opulent commercial city, the great dépôt of the merchandise of the Pacific Ocean. On the next day he addressed an ultimatum

to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, demanding immediately a salute of twenty-one guns to the Spanish flag, and, within four days, full explanations on the principal points of the old demands. The minister, Alvaro Covarrubias, gave an energetic, dignified and decidedly negative reply to such an unreasonable demand. He protested solemnly against the measures, contrary to the spirit of the treaties, which were employed against Chili, and threw all the responsibility for this inexplicable abuse of strength on the aggressor : "The Republic, strong in the justice of her cause, supported by the heroism of her sons, taking God for judge and the civilised world for witness of the strife, will defend her honour and privileges to the last extreme, and will make war by all the means permitted by the law of nations, however extreme and painful they may be". Pareja replied by a second ultimatum, dated at night on the 22nd, but sent on the morning of the 23rd, in which he fixed six o'clock in the morning of the 24th as the limit for compliance. At the same time he refused all friendly intervention of the diplomatic body resident in Santiago. The attitude of the Government was firm and resolute ; the president, by means of an address, which was posted up everywhere, let the people know that he was resolved to face the consequences of the struggle provoked by Spain. Congress voted by acclamation 20,000,000 pesos to arm the country by sea and land ; the declaration of war was solemnly proclaimed in the whole republic, and produced a real and admirable enthusiasm. In the meanwhile Pareja, taking up positions with his vessels, declared the ports of Valparaíso, Coquimbo, Caldera, Herradura and Talcahuano blockaded. To counteract this measure which directly affected foreign commerce and raised sharp protests from the neutral powers, the Government of the republic opened thirty-eight new ports, suppressing the customs duties in them all.

It may be said that there was no serious encounter between the hostile forces until 26th November. The Chilian corvette *Esmeralda* had left Valparaíso on the night of the 17th just when the enemy's squadron was entering it. On the 26th she was near Papulo, anchored near the coast a few miles from Valparaíso. At dawn of the same day the Spanish gunboat *Virgen de Covadonga*, coming from Coquimbo and steering

a course towards the south was going to pass on the other side of Papulo, when the *Esmeralda*, by a bold manœuvre, attacked and took her after a fight of twenty minutes. On receipt of the news of this misfortune, Pareja, who had distinctly heard the cannonade on board his flagship, without being able to go to the assistance of the *Covadonga*, retired to his cabin, wrote this request: "I ask as a favour that my body be not thrown into the waters of Chili," and killed himself with a revolver. The newspapers of that period reproduced a letter, which he must have written to a friend in those last moments, declaring that the errors of judgment, not of will, that had led him to give bad advice to the Government of the queen, could only be expiated by his death. He confessed that he had been unjust to Tavira, and declared that the interest of Spain required her to take advantage of the first opportunity and make peace with Chili. As will be understood, we cannot in any degree answer for the authenticity of this fact. It is certain that on 1st January, 1866, the frigate *Villa de Madrid* left the roads of Valparaíso for twenty-four hours, taking the body of the suicide whose tragical end was kept secret until the brigadier Mendez Nuñez, commander of the frigate *Numancia*, which was in the waters of Callao, had taken command of the squadron. As soon as the Government of Chili knew of the death of its enemy, it offered to receive the remains of the admiral in the cemetery of Valparaíso and hold them at the disposal of the family, but the ocean had already received the body of Pareja. The new Spanish commander, perceiving the impossibility of effectively guarding more than 500 leagues of coast, reduced the blockade to the ports of Valparaíso and Cardela. Besides, one part of his force was going to be employed on the side of Peru, which had given orders to hold its ships in readiness. The blockade of Valparaíso had been a mortal blow for the treasury, and, besides, had ruined private individuals, because Valparaíso is the commercial centre of Chili, as Santiago is its agricultural centre. Mendez Nuñez caused a new injury to the finances by declaring that coal from the mines of the republic, which is an article of considerable exportation, would be considered as contraband of war, and seized, although it were found on board neutral vessels. However much she was disinclined to war, Chili was not disposed to withdraw. The seizure

of the *Covadonga* had raised her hopes, which increased still more through another advantage gained by the Chilian navy in the roads of Abtoa.

Besides the alliance with Peru, which was settled by the treaty of December, 1868, Chili relied securely on the assistance of Ecuador, Colombia and Venezuela; on the other hand, the powerful intervention of the United States was expected, since the representative of the great republic was certainly working in favour of peace. This was the position of affairs when an act took place which has no parallel in our times.

Valparaíso, the principal port of Chili, is a city of about 80,000 inhabitants. It is situated at the bottom of a deep circular inlet enclosed between hills which overlook it at a height of 400 metres. One of these heights, Mount Allegro, is covered with elegant country houses, belonging for the most part to Englishmen. The city is divided into two sections, the harbour and the *Almendral* at the east of the harbour. This is the true centre of the commerce and activity of Valparaíso and the most considerable district of the city, which, besides, extends for some distance through the gorges of the mountains, which are called *quebradas*. In the port, forming a long line of houses, are situated the warehouses and counting-houses of the merchants, who are almost all foreigners. This line of edifices is overlooked by the vast and magnificent custom-house, and the residences of the consular authorities are also there. Two forts defend the harbour, and a citadel defends the city. In reality Valparaíso was a completely open town. The Chilian Government had even withdrawn some guns from a battery, which, without being useful for defence, might give, strictly speaking, a shadow of a pretext for an attack. Valparaíso is the great dépôt of Chilian commerce. Most of the vessels that come round Cape Horn or from the northern regions call at its port and are the cause of a great mercantile activity and the most prodigious animation. But the bay, which is semicircular, does not offer sufficient security for ships except from December to April. From the beginning of May until the end of August it is constantly lashed by the north-west winds, which very often occasion disasters. The Spanish squadron took advantage of the last days in which it was possible for it to be stationed before

Valparaíso to bombard, set fire to and cover with ruins that defenceless city.

Mendez Nuñez had prepared for the action by letting the Chilian Government know beforehand that if within the period of four days it did not adhere to the terms of arrangement established on the bases proposed by France and England, which in reality differed very slightly from those of Pareja, he would bombard Valparaíso. On 31st March, 1866, a little before eight o'clock in the morning, the frigate *Numancia* fired two guns as if to warn the inhabitants. They were given an hour to put themselves under shelter from the bombs, and in this short space of time all the heights situated behind the city were covered with men, women and children, who were flying from death, and who abandoned the greater part of what they possessed. Line of battle being formed, the firing began to the shouts of "Long live the queen". A shower of bombs fell on the custom-house, the commissariat, the hospital, the house for the poor, and the quarters surrounding these buildings. At noon, after a cannonade of three hours, the Spanish ships ceased firing and retired towards the entrance of the roads; their work was done. Merchandise to the value of 8,000,000 pesos was destroyed, the greater part of the city in ruins, and the conflagration ended by devouring the principal quarters. The white flag hoisted on the hospital had been thrown down; the national standard, marked with a star, alone remained standing over the smoking ruins of the *Vale of Paradise*. The neutral vessels looked on impassible at the destruction of such a beautiful place of commerce and the ruin of their fellow-countrymen. This was the last act of the Spanish squadron, since the blockade of Valparaíso was raised on the 14th of April, and very soon Mendez Nuñez finally quitted the Pacific without any kind of arrangement being agreed upon between him and the republic.

The result of the foreign aggression was that the neighbouring republics drew towards Chili. The treaty of quadruple alliance against Spain led to great intimacy between Chili, Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador, who had carried it out, and in this manner terminated after a quarter of a century the differences which existed and which produced continual conflicts between Chili and Bolivia respecting the north-eastern boundary of the first of these

republics. The territory in dispute was amicably divided by a treaty signed at Santiago.

On the other hand, nothing had disturbed home politics; the institutions came out intact from that severe proof, and thus the president was able to declare, with pride, on the opening of the Legislature of 1866, that, even in the midst of the hazards of war, the country continued in the enjoyment of all its liberties. A fine example shown by the Republic of Chili to the powerful nations of Europe, where all guarantees are suspended for long periods of time, solely at the caprice of the governors, and where, under any pretext whatever, the severities of martial law are called for and applied. By this time the period of the elections was drawing near, and the president in his opening speech declared also that they would be the expression of the true opinion of the country. "The Government," he added, "whatever may be the position in which it is placed, will act in the elections as in the past." Perez did not disguise the damage that the blockade had caused, but at the same time he enumerated the efforts that had been made to repair it. The salaries of the Government employees had been reduced, and the citizens had given free gifts to the treasury, a loan without interest being thus subscribed on the spot. Besides, in spite of the preoccupations of the war, the Government had made improvements in the finances, had extended the telegraph lines and opened sections of railways between Currico and San Fernando. It was, nevertheless, necessary to impose on itself new obligations; it was necessary to secure Valparaíso from another aggression, to increase the naval forces, to improve the artillery and pay attention to the defence of the coasts. Without raising new loans the Government thought of modifying the system of taxation, and the nation, far from complaining, accepted all these burdens, and showed it by re-electing the president who had held this language and had completed his five years of office, in spite of the efforts that the partisans of General Bulnés made to prevent it. Congress confirmed the election on 31st August, 1866, and dissolved on 15th January, 1867, after voting a sum of 5,000,000 pesos on the actual or approximate income of private individuals and corporations. The elections of March and April, 1867, for the renewal of the two Chambers also showed that,

however painful might have been the duty entrusted to it, the popularity of the Government had not diminished, since the Opposition only succeeded in getting four of its candidates elected. The new Congress was opened on the 1st of June, and the presidential address, while it demonstrated the happy influence of its institutions, exhibited Chili as continuing its moral and material progress, re-establishing its commerce and restoring its finances. The Anglo-Chilian loan of March and the internal loan of 5th August, 1866, had covered the extraordinary expenses occasioned by the war. In 1867 a new loan, destined to pay off the Anglo-Chilian loan of 1866 and to acquire war material, was made in London. The tax on patents and the income tax yielded excellent results; but if the works of fortification, the preparation of material for artillery of large calibre and the founding of bronze cannon went on constantly, on the other hand, the effective strength of the battalions of militia, organised at the beginning of the war, was reduced. At the same time, the territory was increased by a large district acquired at the expense of the natives of Araucania, and secured against the treacherous attacks of these savages by the erection of the fortified towns of Quidico and Collico.

France and England had several times offered their mediation to Chili as well as to Peru in difficulties pending with Spain; but although the Chilian Government appeared inclined at least to discuss the bases, they thought otherwise in Peru, and the press at Santiago, as at Lima, violently attacked the conciliatory tendencies of certain statesmen. The attempts made under the auspices of the two European powers, and the proposition to make a truce for an indefinite time between the two belligerents had no result; the claims—at the very least exaggerated—of Spain were, according to the words of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Chili, Alvaro Covarrubias, an insuperable obstacle to an understanding. The United States on their side saw their good offices refused for the same reasons. Finally, in 1871, Chili adhered to a convention signed at Lima, 2nd January, 1867, with the object of establishing an armistice at first and afterwards discussing the bases of a definite peace. In consequence of this agreement the commerce of the allies and of neutrals was freed from all restraint. In the interval Chili, following the

example of Peru, recognised the insurgent forces of Cuba as belligerents.

In the meantime a reform of the constitution was desired in the direction of suppressing the president's right to re-election, and Congress passed this reform in July, 1871. As a consequence of this, Federico Errasuriz was elected to succeed Joaquin Perez in the presidentship. He took the oath on 18th September, the anniversary of the independence of Chili, and the outgoing president immediately handed him the insignia which were the emblems of the power he was called upon to exercise.

Errasuriz had successively discharged the duties of intendant of the province of Santiago, deputy, minister and senator. During the war he had taken the Portfolio of Justice and, provisionally, that of foreign affairs; on arriving at supreme power he kept, in the interior and in the latter ministry, Eulogio Altamirano, a member of the late Cabinet. He had scarcely taken possession of his office when a conflict arose with the Argentine Confederation. Both countries disputed for a long time the sovereignty of Araucania and Patagonia, regions which until then had preserved their independence. The Argentine Senate having declared the territory of Magallanes included in the limits of the confederation, Chili hastened, in order to secure her rights, to give authority to one of her subjects to take 3000 tons of guano from the Islands of Santa Magdalena, in the Straits of Magellan. At the same time the Government took possession of all the coast of Arauco and distributed the land in those regions, in lots, to Chilian and foreign colonists; but very few cared to run the risk of taking up such concessions in consequence of the danger to life and property at such distances from the settled parts. The Indians make frequent incursions into the territory in question and carry off the women, children and cattle.

The excitement produced by these questions between neighbours was happily only transitory, and in no way altered their political, financial or commercial relations. Other complications, which came from the side of Bolivia, lasted from the beginning of the year 1873 until a treaty signed at La Paz fixing the boundaries of both nations terminated the differences which had arisen.

Although the economic position of Chili has progressed

remarkably of late years, and the country is the most laborious and advanced of our republics, no comparison can be made between this state of South America and the vigorous states of North America (the United States), whose prosperity is in proportion to the stability of their institutions. Chili, nevertheless, holds one of the most advantageous geographical positions ; its soil is rich and fertile, abounding in minerals and cereals, and in spite of the scantiness of its population it is a district wonderfully suited for the importations of the Old World. The public works pushed on with activity, the new railways opened for working, the telegraph crossing the Andes and uniting Santiago and Valparaiso with Buenos Aires and Rio Janeiro, the country put in direct communication with Europe by a submarine cable, are results worthy of being taken into account, and have been obtained without losing sight of intellectual interests. The statesmen of Chili consider, and justly consider, that instruction must be the principal guarantee for the future of their country ; for this reason the organisation of teaching has occupied and occupies continually those who govern. Primary instruction is divided among fiscal and municipal schools and private schools, and is gratuitous even in many private establishments. The number of schools in 1873 was 1190, of which 726 were public, and 464 private, attended by not less than 82,000 pupils, without speaking of the schools of benevolent institutions. There are schools in the greater number of army corps ; and in the large cities night schools are open for adults. Unfortunately, the population cannot benefit equally by the sacrifices made for it by the state because it is widely scattered over a vast territory, and thus it happens that, while in the cities there is one school for every 1759 inhabitants, in the country, where the population forms three-quarters of the total of the republic, the proportion is not more than one school for every 3020 inhabitants. In spite of this the majority of the citizens, whether white or coloured, can now read and write.

Normal schools for teachers of both sexes have been founded to raise the standard of education. In the towns primary instruction includes linear drawing, geography and notions of the history of Chili. In all parts the pupils are familiarised with the decimal system, which has been adopted in all the republics.

Nor has secondary education been neglected ; in addition to a large college, incorporated under the title of Preparatory Section for the National Institution of Santiago, there are lyceums and superior schools assisted by the state ; Santiago has, among others, a practical School of Arts and Trades, endowed for the education of 100 pupils, and superintended by engineers from Europe. In the mining district, in Copiapo, a School of Mines has been established. The Academy of Music and the School of Fine Arts are also worthy of mention. The National Institute is organised like the College of France, and corresponds to the teaching of the higher faculties. A national literature has been formed, which, if it has much of the literature of Spain, has taken something from that of England and France. Chili has excellent poets, but is especially famous for its scholars, economists and financiers.

It is necessary, however, to think of how much remains to be done, since other modes of procedure must be introduced among a people where, even in 1874, the bishops could launch an excommunication against the Government. The struggle with the episcopate, which has begun over almost all South America, will no doubt terminate by the triumph of the lay spirit ; but while this result is being waited for, it presents now the signs of an alarming moral condition.

Chili, which had not exhibited at London in 1851, nor at Paris in 1855, figured notably in the Universal Exhibition held in the capital of France in 1867, to which she sent printed fabrics that were not without merit, engravings on coins and medals, lithographs, which were very curious from an ethnographical point of view, valuable geographical works made for the Government, geological maps, due to the engineer Plessis, who was appointed to study the geology of the republic, fine earthenware of very brilliant colours, magnificent specimens of the silversmith's art, delicate hand-made cotton laces, the reproduction of an ancient art which has revealed the extreme dexterity of the Chilians, hides prepared in various ways, harness and saddlery very ingeniously made, dried meat, salted provisions and other articles. She exhibited also beautiful specimens drawn from her mines ; gold, silver, copper, iron, nickel, cobalt, lapis-lazuli, marbles and coal, which demonstrated the superiority of Chili over the other

South American republics, from the point of view of mining and metallurgy. An international exhibition of raw and manufactured productions was opened in Santiago in 1875, which produced good results for the interests of Chili. The natives of this republic have a certain predilection for England and claim to be the English of South America. The national sentiment which animates them, the mercantile instinct which more especially distinguishes the inhabitants of Valparaíso, their liking for comfort, their ready adoption of certain habits, the preponderance of the commerce of this European nation and the activity which distinguishes them, appear to support this pretension ; but studying more closely the domestic life of the Chilian and his public and private habits, it will appear that he has more of the active and enterprising character of the Catalan than of the native of the United Kingdom.

To sum up, Chili, one of the richest countries of our South America, gives promise of a prosperous future. From an economic point of view it has an interest analogous to that of the Argentine republic. The sea facilitates the working of the mines, near which is found the fuel for smelting the ores, and the forest and agricultural industries avail themselves of the same advantages. It is perceptible, nevertheless, that landed property remains concentrated in few hands. Possessions of 20,000 hectares of cultivable land are met with in the littoral plains, and of from 100,000 to 200,000 hectares, with still virgin forests, in the valleys of the Cordilleras. Corn is sown abundantly, but the most primitive methods are employed for threshing it. The sheaves are laid on the ground in an enclosure formed of palings, wild colts are let loose and excited by shouts and lashes, and the stamping of these irritated animals replaces the modern threshing machine. There are proprietors who have employed 1000 colts during two months in various enclosures of this kind, for the harvest gathered from 2600 hectares. There is however a want of hands in this country to draw advantage from all the productive elements of the soil. The Germans appear to show a considerable predilection for this republic. During the month of June, 1871, 4000 emigrants arrived in this country from that European nation.

We should not give a complete idea of what this republic

is if we did not devote a few lines to the aboriginal tribes of the south of its territory, who, according to the most general opinion, all belong to the race of the Moluches, to which the Spaniards gave the name of Araucanians, sanctioned by the poets and the majority of the historians. The Moluches properly so called, occupy the fertile and smiling district situated between the rivers Biobio and Valdivia, one of the most beautiful in Chili. The Cunchis extend from Valdivia to the gulf of Guayteca, and the Huiliches or Villiches from the archipelago of Chiloé to near the Gulf of Penas, their raids extending nearly to the entrance to the Straits of Magellan. These two tribes are allied to the true Moluches. These tribes have mixed very much with the Spaniards who have no hesitation in seeking their female companions among them.

The Araucanians devote themselves a little to agriculture, but their principal wealth consists in their flocks and herds, possessing a great number of horses, cattle, guanacos and vicuñas. The horses, which are of Spanish breed, have converted these Indians into excellent horsemen, and by their means they make journeys of from 200 to 300 leagues to pillage an enemy's country. They adore the Great Spirit of the Universe and worship the stars. Although polygamy is permitted among the Araucanians each has generally only one wife. They have some notions of geometry and astronomy; their solar year, divided into twelve months of thirty days each, with five days intercalated, is indicated by the solstices, which they observe with much care. They divide the day into twelve hours of twice the length of one of ours.

The language of the Araucanians is soft, rich and elegant; their verbs have three genders and many moods and tenses. The hereditary chiefs are called *ulmen*, and their generals *toqui*. Their form of government being a mixture of aristocracy and democracy, they cultivate eloquence with great success. These aborigines are generally arrogant, cold and rather haughty, but noble and generous, professing in a high degree the sentiment of justice and injustice. They preserve by tradition what we might call their code of laws, the only ones that they are inclined to recognise. They are sociable, affable in their manners, very jealous of their rights and privileges, and preserve the love of country and hatred of all who try to subdue them, which they

have carried to heroism in the struggle which they sustained with the Spaniards. The majority of them have the custom of shaving the upper part of the head, leaving the rest of the hair, black and thick, flowing over their shoulders ; they stain their faces with a sort of earth which produces the colours red and blue, and wear the most extravagant and varied dresses, but which show by their origin their constant traffic with the neighbouring tribes and with Europeans.

Towns are not met with, generally, in Araucania, the tribes being scattered over the territory to such an extent that, in traversing the country, it might be thought that it was uninhabited. The Araucanians are lazy, and leave to the women, not only the domestic work, but also the care of the horses, the cutting of wood, etc. Their favourite food is horse-flesh, which they prefer to all other ; they are much given to drunkenness, abusing the alcoholic liquors that commerce has introduced into the country, and for lack of them they extract from maize a fermented drink called *chicha de maíz*. In spite of the excess to which they indulge in drink, these Indians are very robust and live many years, there being a large number who pass the century.

Like all savage and warlike nations, the Araucanian tribes molest their neighbours, making incursions into their territories, chiefly into La Plata, which is open and undefended. Generally they use no other arms than the lance and the *laki*, which they handle with great dexterity ; this consists of several balls covered with leather, each one fastened to the end of a thong about a yard long, the ends of which are joined to another thong. With the *laki*, which they throw with great force to a great distance, they can stop a horse or a man, producing serious wounds with the balls that are attached to it. Their incursions into the Chilian provinces are now very rare ; this must be attributed, not so much to the military posts that the Government has established, as to the friendly manner in which these Indians are treated, and the commerce, every day more important, that is carried on with them, which, at the same time that it inspires them with confidence, civilises and enriches them. The Araucanians have a very marked preference, a violent passion, for their neighbours, the white women of Spanish or European origin, and when, during their incursions into Chilian territory,

they attack the towns and villages of the province of Valdivia or Arauco, they consider the women they can carry off as the most important part of their booty. Carrying off women is still very general among them, the republic of Argentina being the greatest tributary of the Araucanians with respect to women, whom they take the greatest care to hide.

Hospitality is one of the most characteristic virtues of this people. They receive foreigners with real pleasure, give them food, lodging and everything they want for months, for a year if it is necessary, without ever thinking of sending them away or of asking the smallest remuneration.

The crossing of blood and the commercial relations which, as we have said, they keep up with the frontier provinces of Chili, are slowly transforming the character and habits of these aborigines, who will in time form part of that republic which has succeeded in attracting them by its prudent conduct, inspiring them with sufficient confidence to gain their friendship.

The Chilian Government has understood that these proceedings, although they are slow, and not those of force and violence, are the most dignified and most sure to succeed in subduing this warlike and indomitable race.

## CHAPTER XI.

### PATAGONIA.

THE name Patagonia has been given to the part of South America included between  $65^{\circ}$  and  $78^{\circ}$  west longitude and between  $35^{\circ}$  and  $56^{\circ}$  south latitude, including the Archipelago of Magellan, because of its great extent and its close proximity. It is bounded by the river Negro which separates it from the Argentine Republic, by the Atlantic Ocean, by the great Southern Ocean and by the Chilian Republic and Araucania, from which it is separated by the crest of the great Cordillera of the Andes.

This vast territory of which Spain always claimed possession while she dominated in America, and which at present Chili and the Argentine Confederation are disputing over, belongs, in fact, only to the Indians who wander over it, and this, among many others, is the principal reason why the interior has not been up to the present time formally explored, the descriptions of it which have been given by travellers being limited to the coasts and the parts adjoining the European and American settlements. The inhabitants of this country, who received from the Spaniards the name of *Patagones*, that is, *big feet*, by which they are still known, are not giants, as was asserted by the first navigators who landed on their coasts, but they are men of a somewhat greater stature than is usual. It is probable that it was not the size of the foot, which is rather small than large if we consider their elevated stature, which gave occasion for this improper denomination, but the wide boots which they wore on horseback, or perhaps their large heads and the disproportionate height of the upper part of the body, which contrasts with the shortness of their legs and thighs. No doubt an ancient tradition of the Peruvians which pointed to a nation of

giants in the south of America contributed to confirm this belief.

The first navigator who visited the coasts of Patagonia was Magellan, a Portuguese gentleman in the service of Spain, who gained eternal fame by discovering a passage from the Atlantic Ocean to the South Sea through the straits which bear his name; a passage that has lost some of its nautical importance since, in 1616, the two Dutchmen, Lemaire and Schouten, discovered the Straits of Lemaire and doubled Cape Horn, so called from the name of the city in which Schouten was born (Horn). Magellan himself saw some of those dreaded giants, who, according to Garcilaso, were ten palms high, that is six feet and a half, one of them being much taller, since the Spaniards only reached to his waist. At that period (1520) the Patagonians had no horses, riding on animals which resembled asses, probably the *gemuls* of Molina; but then, as now, they were shepherds and nomads.

After Magellan, Thomas Cavendish passed the strait in 1592, and asserts that he had seen two dead bodies of Patagonians which were fourteen palms in length, adding that on measuring on the beach the footprint of one of these savages he found it four times as long as his own. Cavendish also affirms that three of his men were in danger of perishing in the sea from the stones that one of the giants threw at them, which made a contemporary writer exclaim: "Here we have the Polyphemus of the Odyssey!"

Duclos Guyot, the commander of a French royal urca, not only saw the Patagonians in 1766, but remained some time among them with all his crew. He has given curious details of their customs and manner of life, especially their extraordinary stature, and adds that these aborigines pronounced some words in Spanish, or which at least resembled that language.

All the east coast of this part of America, included between the river Plate and the Straits of Magellan, is an uncultivated and barren country, covered only with thickets and some wild apricot trees, the survival of those planted by the Spaniards, which, although there were very few, have established themselves towards the south of the Argentine Republic. This want of timber has been hitherto, and will be in the future, one of the greatest obstacles to the formation of settlements in this country,

although it must be admitted that, as the interior has not been explored, it cannot be asserted absolutely that there is a want in it of this article of prime necessity for naval construction and house-building. On the other hand, the light sandy soil produces a tall, strong and thick grass, with which the pampas or immense plains are covered, and over which, from the river Plate to the Straits of Magellan, innumerable herds of wild cattle and horses, the descendants of those brought by the first Spanish colonists, wander.

The herds of wild cattle and horses are not the only animals of European origin which live in this vast territory, since there are besides large packs of dogs, the ancestors of which had lost themselves in these solitudes while following the animals which had escaped from the Spanish settlements. Although they have become wild they do not attack man, feeding on the defenceless calves and the bodies of cattle killed by the hunters. The vicuña also is abundant, the civet cat and the jaguar. Among the sea-birds, which are in great numbers, we will only mention the penguin, which, with slight difference, are of the size and shape of the goose, having two flippers instead of wings which can only aid them in swimming; when they are standing or walking they hold the body erect, and not, like other birds, almost horizontal.

The sea-coasts are inhabited by a prodigious number of seals of all species and other amphibious animals, among which must be mentioned the sea-elephant, so called from having in front of its nose a cartilaginous substance five or six inches long, which in shape resembles an elephant's trunk. The males, which are one-third larger than the females, are sometimes as much as twenty-two or twenty-three feet long, and more than four in diameter. It is very dangerous to attack them when they are in the water from the extraordinary strength and agility that they display in defending themselves.

All travellers who have explored this country agree in the small number of its inhabitants, since, in general, parties of ten to twenty men only are met with, and it is very seldom indeed that some hundreds of them are seen together. The number of Patagonians is, nevertheless, more considerable on the plains adjoining the territory of Buenos Aires than in the neighbourhood

of the Straits of Magellan, which can and must be attributed to the fact that the climate is less severe and the herds of cattle much more numerous than in the region farther south. The Patagonians are, as we have said, tall in stature, and now we must add that they are well formed and robust, and have the same copper colour as the rest of the inhabitants of our continent; they all have the custom of painting their faces more or less with brilliant colours and in strange patterns. Generally they paint a black, red or blue circle round their eyes which goes down to the cheek-bones, and almost always the colour of this circle is different on each side, black and red, black and white or black and yellow. To this first and chief ornament they add the painting of the whole face, on which they draw transverse bands, red, black, yellow or white. Some men have similar paintings on their arms, and all the young women paint their eyelids black. This custom of painting the face and various parts of the body with a sort of very hard brush, so common among the aborigines of America and which is nowhere so general as among the Patagonians, gives them a horrible aspect and a fierce and repugnant air which strongly contrast with the gentleness attributed to them by all travellers who have visited them.

When the Patagonians go to war they wear a breast-plate of hide and a leather hat; their principal arms are the bow, the sling and the lance, headed with a pointed bone.

In spite of the severity of the climate of Patagonia, its inhabitants take no precautions against the cold, as the little care they take in clothing themselves shows. Generally they are accustomed to go entirely naked; some cover their shoulders with the mere skin of an animal; others wrap their bodies in skins tied round the loins with a leather thong. Some traveller has seen several who wore breeches of skin fastened round the loins with a strap which supported a guanaco skin intended to cover the shoulders, but which hung down to their heels like a sort of apron, so that they were entirely naked from the waist upwards.

With the exception of a few families who live by fishing in the Straits of Magellan, and who appear to be degenerate individuals of Patagonian race, they are all hunters or shepherds. Men and women pass their lives on horseback, sometimes

guarding the flocks of guanacos, which often contain thousands of head, and at others hunting the wild horses and cattle. This hunting is the principal occupation of those who live in the territory adjoining that of Buenos Aires, and their sole object is to use the tallow and hides, which they sell to the merchants of that republic, but they sometimes use the tongue of the animals, which, being well prepared, forms an important branch of commerce. The rest of the animal, which is left on the spot, serves for food for the birds of prey and the packs of dogs that range over those vast plains. The hunting is performed thus. Some mounted men go in search of a herd of wild cattle, and on finding one try to cut off a few from the group and follow them until they can succeed in hamstringing them with a half-moon-shaped blade fixed to a long pole. The animal falls, but the hunters, without stopping, follow another, while the party of dismounted Patagonians who follow them slaughter the fallen animals and skin them. By this method of life the Patagonians have become excellent horsemen, who rival, if they do not surpass, their neighbours the Gauchos of Buenos Aires. Even those who live farthest away from this republic have acquired very great dexterity in breaking-in horses, and almost all have adopted the use of the saddle, bridle and spurs. It is to be remarked that, generally, the saddle is nothing more than a piece of leather, the bridle a mere strap put in the horse's mouth, and the spurs a long wooden spike tied to a boot, these being sufficient to guide the horse, which obeys the rider perfectly.

The Patagonians also pay much attention to the chase of cattle, which they endeavour to take alive, and in this the admirable instinct of the horses is seen, which counts for as much in the success of the operation as the dexterity of the horsemen. This chase is carried on in the following manner. Two men on horseback, armed with lassos firmly attached to the saddle by one end, together follow a wild bull; when one of them is near enough he throws the lasso over the horns of the animal, and very seldom fails to catch it, and follows it, regulating the pace of the horse to the rapidity of the bull, so that the lasso is never drawn very tight; in the meantime the other horseman passes behind and throws his lasso at the legs of the animal, at the same instant the two men dismount, their horses stop, and the former

pull the lassos with all their might in opposite directions. This sudden shock throws the animal down, and the horses continue pulling and prevent it doing anything, while the hunters go up and bind it so strongly that they oblige it to follow almost without resistance. In the same manner they catch guanacos, ostriches and jaguars, although, in truth, for the former they generally use the *bolas*, that is, a cord or thong with a round stone or a ball of metal at the end.

We have said that the carelessness of the Patagonians with regard to their dress is remarkable and the same may be said of their habitations. They generally live in tents of skins, although those of the Straits of Magellan, where trees abound, build cabins of branches fixed in the ground and interlaced above. They feed almost exclusively on raw or half-cooked flesh to which they sometimes add tender herbs and roots. There are, however, some tribes who always live close to the sea and eat nothing but raw fish and mollusks, and who in their habits and physical constitution resemble the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego.

The Patagonians have never shown themselves hostile to the Europeans and Americans who have settled in their country, nor to those who have passed through it merely as travellers; on the contrary, rather, all without exception have praised their kind reception and the gentleness they have always shown with foreigners. With the exception of a slight propensity to stealing, which is excusable in people who are ignorant of the laws and the morality of civilised nations, there is little with which to reproach the Patagonians, since they cannot be blamed for their liking for hard dollars, whatever their stamp may be, nor for biscuit, rum and aguardiente, for which they willingly exchange their meat, guanaco skins and ostrich feathers. Nor do the relations of the Patagonians among themselves indicate ferocity; they treat the women as inferiors, but not as slaves, thus differing from their neighbours the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego, who have turned their companions into beasts of burden. Little or almost nothing is known of their customs with regard to marriage, except that they plunge in the water several times the women who are to be married, that their husbands are very jealous, and that they take very great precautions to withdraw

the young women from the sight of foreigners ; travellers who have had an opportunity of approaching them describe them as modest and timid.

Chili, or the Argentine Confederation, or both republics together, should endeavour to civilise the Patagonians, transforming their character and manners by pacific and friendly means, a thing which cannot be difficult, considering the docility and timidity which distinguish them.

## CHAPTER XII.

### TIERRA DEL FUEGO.

WHEN Magellan passed through the straits which bear his name, he called the large island, situated at the south of the passage, Tierra del Fuego,<sup>1</sup> although this name now includes the group of mountainous, cold and barren islands, abounding in volcanoes, which illuminate but do not melt the snows by which they are covered. This group of islands is also known by the name of the Magellanic Archipelago. Besides the Grande Tierra (King Charles' South Land), noted for its volcano and for Sarmiento, the highest mountain of these territories, the archipelago includes the Western Isle, according to M. Balbí, or Isle of Desolation according to Mr. King, which is situated at the west point of the straits. Not far from this point are the Island of Hanover and Queen Adelaide's Archipelago, and at the east Clarence and Navarino Islands.

The Land of the States (in English and Dutch Staten Island) is situated at the east of King Charles' South Land, from which it is separated by the famous strait which bears the name of the navigator who discovered it, Lemaire; on the south is found the group of the Hermite Islands and Cape Horn Island, celebrated for its south cape, to which the navigator who doubled it for the first time gave its name; and, lastly, at the south of this group, is that of Diego Ramirez, the last land that geographers attribute to America. The archipelago, of which we have given a short description, embraces an extent of more than 150 leagues from

<sup>1</sup> Some think that the reason why Magellan gave the name of Tierra del Fuego to this large island was from his seeing a volcano on it at a great distance. But others think that it is derived from the custom of the natives, who live in the greatest misery and go almost naked, of lighting large fires on every side to warm themselves.

east to west, and more than 70 from north to south. The sea enters by numerous channels into this group of islands which forms the archipelago; but the passages are so narrow, the currents so strong, and the impetuosity of the wind is so great that the navigator dare not venture to penetrate such a labyrinth; with so much the more reason that nothing invites him to do so, considering that nothing else is seen but lava, granite and basalt in complete confusion, forming scarped cliffs hanging over the roaring waves. At times a magnificent cascade interrupts the silence of the desert; seals of all kinds play in the bays or rest their heavy bodies on the shore; the penguins, the mancos and other birds of the Atlantic Ocean pursue their prey; the navigator finds here, in default of trees and all other kinds of plants, the antiscorbutics, the wild celery and cress. The climate, tolerable in summer when the north wind is felt, is generally very cold when the south wind blows, which has passed over the ice of the pole and the Shetland Isles.

The north and east coasts of Tierra del Fuego are the most favoured by nature among those of these regions; the mountains have a rather gentle slope towards the Atlantic Ocean; the valleys are clothed with a vegetation luxurious enough; clumps of trees and meadows are found there, and hares, foxes and even horses.

The Pecherais, the indigenous inhabitants of this archipelago, whose real name appears to be Yacanacus, are the nearest to the South Pole that are known. They are of small stature, since their height is from 5 feet to 5 feet 2 inches; they have broad faces, prominent cheek-bones, flat noses and small eyes; their breast is generally well formed, but the stomach is protuberant and their legs are thin and crooked, which appears to be the result of the habit they have of squatting down constantly warming themselves close to the fire. They are, in a word, a repulsive caricature of the Patagonians, whom, however, they resemble. Besides being so dirty that the colour of their skin can scarcely be made out, they have, like the Patagonians, the custom of painting their faces and different parts of their bodies with various colours forming more or less curious patterns. Their intelligence seems to be very obtuse and as wretched as possible.

These savages being reduced to a purely animal life have nothing more than the form of man. They pass the greater part of their time muffled up, watching on the sea-shore for the amphibians, the mollusks and fish that almost exclusively form their food. Their industry is limited to constructing canoes for fishing and a few arms; indeed the greater part of these labours are entirely confided to the women, who are considered by the Pecherais as little more than beasts of burden. The canoes, which are from 10 to 15 feet long by 22 to 24 inches broad, consist of three pieces of birch bark, one forming the bottom and one for each side; these pieces are united by twigs of trees interlaced with considerable ingenuity. A layer of argillaceous earth on the bottom of this rough boat serves at the same time for ballast and hearth, on which a perpetual fire is kept. Their arms are the sling made of the skin or intestine of the sea-cow, the pike formed of a wooden staff from 8 to 10 feet long and ending with a pointed bone, and the javelin, made like the pike, although not so long, which, holding it by the middle, they throw with great dexterity. They have also been seen to use bows of hard and elastic wood with which they shoot arrows that give very dangerous wounds, because they are made of a piece of wood with a slit at one end, into which a sharp pebble is introduced, although it is not firmly fixed; whence it results that, when the arrow sticks in the flesh, it can easily be drawn out, but the pebble remains in the wound.

Their dress is not in harmony with the severity of the climate in which they live, since many of the men go entirely naked, and others wear no more dress than the skin of a sea-wolf thrown over the back, and which does not usually cover half of it. The women are wrapped in a large skin which covers them decently; they appear very modest and their husbands are very jealous, watching them closely. The lightness of the clothing of these aborigines is in striking contrast with the insupportable heat constantly kept up in their wretched huts, which have the form of a sugar loaf.

All the navigators who have visited them agree that although they are timid and shy, they have received them cordially; generally they approach strangers with pleasure mingled with distrust; they sing and stretch out their arms in sign of friendship, and

after the first meeting lose their timidity and go to the ships without any sort of suspicion. The only reproach that can be made against them is their extreme propensity to theft, a defect so common among savages that it causes no surprise to those who visit them. Among these tribes, as among those of Patagonia, very few traces of religious ideas and none of any form of government have been found.

## CONCLUSION.

ON perusing the *History of South America* from its discovery by Christopher Columbus to our own time, we have had occasion to see how Spain and Portugal—the former particularly—were extending the discoveries of the immortal Genoese, and conquering by the intrepidity and headlong courage of her sons, the greater part of this vast continent; we have also seen the heroism displayed by its inhabitants in defending the sacred soil of their country against the foreign invader; we have then reviewed the means used by that then powerful nation to dominate, to subjugate, and to colonise those immense territories which she had acquired, as well as the titanic struggle that our fathers maintained for some years in order to regain their independence.

In this first part of our work we have related in all their dreadful nudity the atrocities and horrors of the conquest and the colonisation without exaggerating or extenuating them, but with the strictest impartiality. Let it not be thought, however, that we, as Americans, run into the vulgar and widespread error of supposing that America is indebted to Spain alone for the many and inevitable ills that the conquest and colonisation of our country brought with them, in an age in which political, religious and economical ideas sprang from erroneous reasoning, the consequence of which was that the problems which the Government of a state originates were solved by a standard so different from that which dominates or rules in this humanitarian age, which is that of law and liberty. If Spain exterminated a part of the indigenous race by arms more than by refined cruelty, this must be attributed to the necessity in which her few and daring soldiers were placed of imposing themselves by terror on nations so numerous and warlike that, even now, it is a marvel that they were able to subdue them, at least with the means which they

employed; if the Spaniards, blinded by avarice, buried the Indians in the mines and neglected agriculture, let the blame lie on the erroneous ideas on political economy of the preceding centuries quite as much as on them, and especially those that prevailed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which admitted as an incontrovertible truth that the precious metals constituted, if not the only, at least the principal wealth of a nation; if, instead of converting our ancestors to Christianity by persuasion and example and of civilising them, they took pains to make them fanatics, to brutalise and enslave them, this ought to be attributed to the conduct, with some honourable exceptions, of a fanatical, intolerant and vicious clergy, and of adventurers who, relying on impunity on account of the distance they were from the mother country, and on the complicity of some colonial governors, and stimulated at the same time by the bait of the immense riches that they had under their eyes, treated as slaves those whom religion taught them to look on as brothers, and whom the laws commanded them to respect, rather than to the kings of Spain, who laid down prudent and humane laws, in order to protect them from the abuses and oppression of their subjects.

We have mentioned them before, and do not intend to deny, nor even to excuse, the errors of Spain and the Spaniards which we have set out in relief in this work. What we wish to state is that, if the Government committed serious faults and the colonists crimes, it cannot be denied that, notwithstanding this, it was our mother country which transformed or converted the Indians, almost all uncivilised, and many of them cannibals, into civilised men, and that if the industrial and mercantile regulations of South America before the War of Independence cannot be compared with those of England and the other European nations at the same period, this is owing to the fact that Spain was a century behind the other nations of Europe, having remained stationary while they were completely transformed by the impulse of the philosophical ideas of the eighteenth century, rather than to the intention, unjustly attributed to her, of keeping her colonies in a state of subjection and barbarism. Let us hear what M. Chevalier, whose testimony cannot be suspected by us, has said on this subject.

"Spain," says this writer, "remained stationary in the midst of the progress of Western Europe, and preserved the same faith, the same laws, the same customs, the same ideas and the same economical, agricultural and mercantile routine, while her northern neighbours renewed everything. The methods, proceedings and habits that she carried to the colonies were soon very antiquated relatively to those of the north of Europe; but, looking at the past times of these colonies, they were very advanced, considering that the Indians were ten or twelve centuries behind the Christian era in civilisation. To carry them to the beginning of the eighteenth, or even of the seventeenth, century was a glorious result. This is what the Spaniards did, and what they alone have been able to do, and for all this the Indian race owes them eternal gratitude. Before the Spaniards, the Indians were on the road which led to a blind alley; the Spaniards put them on the high road of European civilisation and taught them to go straight to it. The Spaniards found the Indians cannibals, and from cannibals turned them into labourers. It does not much matter that they were behind the most advanced nations, since if they were on the right road and went on, they would not lack the means of covering the distance, as the Russian, German, Irish, and even French labourers have, who are also 200 years behind the age."

Let us insist once more. The American Indians suffered much injustice from the Spaniards, but history does not record any conquered nation that did not receive it from their conquerors; but this injustice is in great part compensated by the benefits received, benefits that are not sufficiently appreciated, even if they are not systematically denied, by those who endeavour to discredit the Spaniards, if it be only to excuse their own criminal conduct towards the aborigines. Can, in fact, any European nation that has founded colonies in America, show, like Spain, from statistics, that in what were its colonies two-thirds at least of the present inhabitants are pure-bred Indians? What other European nation can show that the fourth part of the population of its old colonies is composed of half-breeds, resulting from the mixture of conquerors and conquered? Among the states of the old continent which colonised America shall we find any that can, like Spain, assert that it has civilised the

Indians, transmitting to them, indeed, all their vices and faults, but also all their virtues and noble qualities? It is precisely those who show the greatest persistence in depreciating Spain, feeding and stirring up, as they go, hatred and rancour, which should be completely extinguished—and which, fortunately for America and Spain, are being extinguished—it is they who exalt to the skies the wisdom, the moderation and the spirit of liberty and equality which characterise the Anglo-Americans. Where, it may be demanded of these, are the half-breeds which testify to the love of the Anglo-Americans for the native women? Where are the Indians whom they have civilised? In the United States of North America there are no half-breeds; and if some few, very few, Indians have escaped destruction by hunger and drunkenness, they have been remorselessly swept from the territory of the Union, watered by them with the sweat of their brows, and have been obliged to take refuge in the wildernesses of Arkansas. We must admit, to do them strict justice, that the Spaniards have treated the Indians best, with whom they have ended by mixing, and that neither the English of North America nor the Portuguese of South America can show the titles that the former have to the consideration of the aborigines.

In the first part of our *History of South America* we have pointed out that the independence of what were the Spanish and Portuguese colonies had its origin in the jealousy and hatred of the Creoles and Indians against the Europeans who were sent by the mother country to govern them, as well as in the absurdity of their colonial system founded on restrictions and monopoly, and chiefly in the theories of right, formulated by the eighteenth century, and sanctioned by the French revolution, which penetrated and spread over America with almost the same rapidity with which they had overspread Europe. Long and sanguinary, as we have seen, was the contest that our fathers carried on to gain their independence, displaying a tenacity, an energy, a patriotism and a courage that terrified the Spaniards, who, besides being harassed by internal dissensions committed the grave error of supposing that the Spanish-Americans of the beginning of this century were worth little more than the Indians of the period of the conquest. All the Europeans had formed such a mistaken idea of the Creoles and Indians that the War of

Independence was necessary to show that the former were not, as it was thought, effeminate libertines, idle and superstitious, nor the latter stupid, abject and degraded, nor were either incapable of founding, defending and governing a republic. They were able to struggle, conquer and found free states, whose first act was to proclaim from Texas to the borders of La Plata the equality of all men, abolishing slavery, that brand of infamy which the Anglo-Americans had no hesitation in preserving, that nation which the enemies of Spain and of South America have held up to us on all occasions as a model worthy of imitation.

In the second part of this work, on perusing the special history of each of the republics founded in what were Spanish possessions, and of the constitutional empire into which the Portuguese possession of Brazil was transformed, we have had occasion to see that all these new states came immediately into direct contact with the civilised nations, their old trammels being replaced by the most complete liberty. Our South America, beautiful in its youth, admirable for its fertility, which a jealous and orthodox custom-house watched over and isolated from the rest of the world, while it was subject to the Colonial Government, became the mistress of its destinies. An important movement of exchanges with the Old World immediately took place, and the books of the learned men and illustrious philosophers of Europe, and the works of its poets could circulate freely from Buenos Aires to Caracas, from Rio Janeiro to Quito and Bogotá. At the same time the most advanced European nations sent to the rising states their architects, engineers, miners, artists and professors; bold colonists scattered themselves over the soil of South America, rich in promise, and the capital cities saw artisans, workmen of all trades, merchants and bold speculators arrive from the old continent. Schools were opened, harbours were constructed, lighthouses were established, roads were planned, bridges were thrown across the rivers, the forests were explored, the rivers examined and the mountains visited, water gushed from the burning sands, and the telegraph speaks now and the steam engine whistles in the deserts which had heard nothing more than the neighing of the wild horse and the cry of the jaguar.

We must recognise and acknowledge that this uninterrupted

community of interests and ideas and this everyday intercourse with exterior civilisation have modified habits, desire for something better has increased, the feverish longing for what is new and unknown is united to the enthusiasm of liberty, and this has produced premature essays, ruin and great frauds.

The ancient monarchies of Europe, whose history is full of crimes among men and of atrocities between nations, which have put in practice every kind of slavery and refinement of cruelty, which have terrified the earth with their dynastic or religious quarrels, and lighted up on all sides the fires of the Inquisition, and whose unfortunate people have dragged themselves along, age after age, from misery to misery, and from despair to despair; the ancient monarchies of Europe, we repeat, disturbed by so many cataclysms, harassed by so many wars and revolutions, speak with the greatest disdain of these republics, which have only half a century of existence, and which, through so many obstacles and difficulties, carry on a work whose end will be, we do not doubt for a moment, the triumph of civilisation and liberty. The man of observation, the wise and experienced politician, does not doubt that the civil wars, and even those between two states, which devastate and fill South America with blood, have most often the character of a struggle between the party which is directed towards the centralisation of power, the unity of the laws, of political regulation and administrative organisation, and that which tends to the breaking up and decentralisation of public life, that is to say, federalism. At bottom this is the problem of the formation of these embryonic states, which is debated between constantly renewed convulsions. The question is to know whether the American republics will be unitarian or federal.

Excessive severity must not be shown in judging these new republics, and in doing so it is to be ascertained to whom the responsibility for the social condition of these states justly belongs.

Decaying during a long time from a political point of view, cut off from all communication with the exterior, accustomed for centuries to clerical and monarchical absolutism, given over to a degrading superstition, and having to struggle against racial hatred, the existence of most of them has constituted a perpetual problem. Emancipation has not engendered, as

some would suppose, the ills that have afflicted them. These ills are a transmission ; they are the legacy of times past, and we are sure that the liberty that has made them evident will also cure them. The South Americans have been severely reproached with having made a deplorable use of this liberty, which came so unexpectedly, even so far that grave men have written that our race was incapable of self-government under the democratic republican form, and did not deserve to keep it, that it was necessary to deprive them of it, and that the duty of the European monarchies was to intervene in the affairs of these turbulent republics, if from the ignorant masses of which they are composed they do not transform themselves immediately into settled and disciplined nations. These imprudent words which were heard, especially at the time of the expedition to Mexico and the new annexation of San Domingo to Spain, may be considered as a menace to the independence of the New World. But they must not deceive themselves ; the disaster of Querétaro is very significant, and princes in search of a crown will do well to remember it, before going, like the unfortunate Maximilian, to expose themselves stupidly to the bullets of another Juarez. Let them not come, then, repeating as they have done hitherto with sufficient levity, if not with manifest bad faith, that these nations are unworthy of liberty, now that they have gained it, and will in case of necessity defend it against the foreigner, as Mexico, Peru and Chili have done. It is in vain that writers paid by the courts of the old continent, that diplomats of a day, that greedy and ambitious men, or those infatuated with their own merits, make unbecoming threats and absurd appeals for the interference of the Old World, and that they talk of making monarchies, willy-nilly, of these laborious democracies, since these republics systematically defamed direct their principal efforts to remain masters of themselves, their present and their future. Through all dangers and uncertainties they have preserved a profound belief in their own resources ; they have not sought a royal or imperial saviour ; they have not given themselves up for life to this or that individual, and to no one more than themselves do they owe the glory of triumphing over the dangers into which the recently formed nations were thrown by inexperience.

A distinguished and respectable contemporary European publicist, M. Reclus, who shows a special liking for what relates to America, has said :—

“ Not only the white Creoles have been able to convince themselves by their long struggle and final victory that they also were as worthy of liberty as Europeans; all the inferior races, kept until then in hopeless slavery, saw at the same time that a ray of light was coming to illuminate their future. The men of mixed race, who, for the most part, had thrown themselves passionately into the arena, and had not ceased to fight with bravery at least equal to that of the whites, had by that very fact acquired the rights of citizens; the slavery of the negroes had been mitigated, and then successively abolished by the different republics, the civilised Indians, or simply the *tame* were governed by the same constitution and enjoyed equal rights as the descendants of unmixed blood of the old Spanish conquerors. South American society on recovering from its lethargy received, and gave the name of citizens to millions of workers, who, until then, had been considered as intermediate beings between man and beast. For the first time it had been seen that three races so distinct as the Caucasian whites, the African negroes and the Redskins recognised each other as equals and were mingled together in nations which belonged by their origin to the three distinct peoples. When the new republics presented themselves to the world, they solemnly asserted the unity of destiny for all the members of the human family, and inaugurated their career with one of the most important acts of history.”

Unfortunately, the colonial habits did not disappear suddenly on the departure from those countries of the last Spanish soldier. Intellects still remained oppressed even after the body had broken off all its chains. Spain left behind her a terrible leaven—religious fanaticism. The jesuitical dictatorship and the military dictatorship found the same point of support—ignorance. This is the cause of those continual crises, of those revolutions and counter-revolutions whose sad result is to accustom the people to the sight of bloodshed.

In his address of 1841, the President of the United States, alluding to these barren struggles, said :—

“ The sanguinary conflicts between these countries are

deplorable; they tend to prevent them fulfilling their duties as members of the community of nations and attaining the position that their situation and natural resources would justly give them the right to expect".

Since the remote date when these words were pronounced things have completely changed. The results obtained by these systematically discredited nations, who are appointed to play an important part in the destiny of the world, cannot be denied, and thus the *Latino-American Review* said, in November, 1874:—

"The symptoms of the same fever for aggrandisement which has produced such rapid developments in North America may now be observed in all the states of South America. The acclimatisation of European civilisation is especially favoured by the extreme fertility of the almost unworked soil, the emulation that has seized all the Governments, the continual increase of the immigration of the nations of the Mediterranean and the comfort which is with difficulty found in our very dense societies, and, lastly, by the much reduced number of the natives, their natural docility and their promptness in assimilating their ideas and habits to those of the Latin race."

The hostility of a dreaded neighbour like Brazil, a country of slavery and always ready to aggrandise itself at the expense of its neighbours, has contributed very much to throw difficulties and impediments in the way of the rising nationalities of South America. Because, if the statesmen who have succeeded one another at the head of affairs in this empire have often differed in opinion in what refers to internal administration they have all agreed as to the direction of international policy. They have all followed the same programme without more difference than marking more or less strongly its execution. They have all desired to increase the influence of Brazil, especially on the side of La Plata, making their country play a part in South America analogous to that played by the United States in the North. On the other hand, the Spanish republics have not always met with the tutelary support that they might and ought to expect, in the old monarchies of Europe.

On arriving at this point, it will not be inopportune to again lament that the hatred, or at least the strong prejudices, which

exist between the old mother country and what were her colonies, between Spain and all the republics of Latin America, have not yet disappeared completely. Spain, by her history and her geographical position called to be the true link between both continents, the natural representative in Europe of the interests of our states, instead of allowing herself to be carried on the road of unreasonable and dangerous adventures, instead of annexations like that of San Domingo, of expeditions like that of Mexico and of wars like those of Chili and Peru should show sincere, loving and loyal friendship to the South Americans, making them understand that she only desires their prosperity and greatness and that, in the case in which their independence and interests are threatened, whether by the United States of the North, by Brazil or by any European power, she will always be ready to defend and help them. Spain, in a word, ought to be for the states of Latin America what a loving mother is for her children, although these, through having reached full age, have freed themselves from the maternal authority ; because, in fact, all the republics of South America are nothing else than her true children.

If this is what Spain is called upon to do for the Spanish republics of our America, and even for those of Central and North America, in return, all these ought to look at what was their mother country without prejudice or distrust, and instead of throwing themselves at every difficulty internal or external that arises into the arms of the United States of the North, of Brazil and of England, who are their natural enemies, interested more or less directly in breaking them up and weakening them, should endeavour by all possible means, without loss of dignity, to gain the estimation and respect of the only nation which has a real community of interests and affection with them, with the only nation that can feel its breast swell with noble pride, on the not far distant day when these republics succeed in making themselves respectable and respected, in the new as well as in the old continent ; of Spain, in fact, which, if she committed grave errors during the period of her colonial government, and even since her colonies have emancipated themselves, has received from them grave offences, the greatest of all being the ingratitude with which we have treated her. Let the faults or mistakes

committed by both sides be forgotten, let the Governments of America and Spain enter into closer relations by means of treaties of commerce and friendship, make an alliance offensive and defensive, and if all are inspired by the purest patriotism, Spain, by lending her disinterested support and protection to the republics of Latin America, will carry away great material and moral advantages, will complete the work of the immortal discoverer Christopher Columbus, and will recover before the civilised world the legitimate influence that she never ought to have lost ; and our rising states, relying on a protector in Europe of the rank of Spain, will make her power respected by those who now despise and abuse her. Perhaps it will be objected to us that this does not go beyond an idle fancy and therefore unrealisable ; but it must be conceded that, even if it be an idle fancy, the mind is raised by its contemplation, and patriotism is exalted, catching glimpses of good fortune for our beloved country that, God grant, our children may some day enjoy.

But, setting aside our patriotic desires, which, we repeat, we do not despair of seeing realised some day, if America and Spain have not lost the instinct of self-preservation, let us put together our reflections on the idea and opinion of our South America that men have formed in the old continent.

They must not forget, we shall tell them, that these republics of which they speak with such sovereign contempt in the newspapers and among the diplomatists of implacable and haughty Europe, that these republics whose political capacity is doubted, in the midst of the storms that beat on them, have solved, in the direction of humanity, reason and justice, the most important questions ; namely, those of races, labour and economics. Slavery having been abolished in them and the equality of the races realised, labour has taken for its basis the principle of liberty. In those countries which have the reputation of being uncivilised or at least very backward, civilisation has worked, or at least it must be agreed that little is wanting to it, a great fusion from a social, economical and political point of view. Under these conditions public instruction has reached all the citizens without distinction, without heeding their difference of origin, without regarding the colour of their faces. Thus it is that Caracas, Buenos Aires, Santiago de Chili, Lima, Quito, Bogotá, Chuquizaeca

and Montevideo, not forgetting the capital of Paraguay, have produced works in history, literature, geography, ethnology and politics, distinguished by naturalness and animation of style, and by clearness and beauty of thought. Our poets, for some time imitators, have released themselves from foreign influence, yet manifesting by a sentiment of our race, which, more or less degenerate, is the Latin, a marked predilection for the Spanish and French contemporary poets. Juan Gutierrez, one of the most renowned poets and critics of Buenos Aires, declares it with some humour. "There are still some who deny," he exclaims, "the existence of a special American poetry, nevertheless, at last it will be necessary to recognise our independence in literature as it has been recognised in politics; both have already passed into the region of facts. . . . Our poets feel the history of the country and American nature with hearts inspired *Americanly*."

Nor are these the only results. Others of a different order exist, which have also their grandeur. The development that the majority of the states of South America has undergone of late years must draw the attention of impartial observers. Instead of the stereotyped complaints on the misfortunes of the civil wars, of the presidential changes and of financial crises, the words that strike our ears and which form the motto of the age in which we live, are commerce, industry, railways, telegraphs, instruction, right, law, justice, progress and liberty. In consequence of the increase of means of communication, of the settlement of European and North American merchants, the material situation has remarkably improved, for the states as much as for individuals; commercial transactions becoming every day more numerous, fortunately leave no time for *pronunciamientos*.

These would be no longer to be feared if, following the salutary example of some of them, all our American republics decided to take their presidents from the civil element, excluding for ever the military element, which has heaped so many misfortunes on them. "In order to understand the mission that the Spanish republics have to fulfil," says the contemporary European publicist previously quoted, "it is sufficient to regard the continent that they share with Brazil, and in which is found the most beautiful half of their dominion. Everything there presents the

character of a marvellous unity ; the chain of the Andes, which extends with the greatest regularity from Cape Horn to the Isthmus of Panamá ; the great plain that descends from the slope of the mountains towards the Atlantic ; the rivers interlaced in their sources, and the sea-shores in graceful curves, which form the immense triangle of South America, corresponding with that of North America. In that land of Colombia, so vast and at the same time so simple in structure, is already written beforehand the history of a great nation of brothers."

In conclusion, it may be affirmed on studying Brazil, which is developing slowly and peacefully, that the old Spanish colonies have at length terminated that painful period of transition which separates the oppressive government from the free government. Some are already prosperous republics ; others will be so within a short time in proportion as instruction is extended and as the growing interests of industry and commerce are put over the influence of the heads of factions and the persistent intolerance of a fanatical clergy. The scantiness of population is a great obstacle to progress ; it will not then be inopportune to remember that the future of South America depends in a great measure on colonisation. The American Governments know this perfectly well, and the best proof is their continual appeal to European emigration. These emigrants come by thousands, bringing their intelligence and their capital ; and it must be confessed and recognised that they would come in vastly greater numbers if all the American governments, comprehending that the highest interest of the New World rests in attracting to itself the inhabitants of the old continent, would endeavour to pass really protective laws in favour of these, securing to the mere labourers not only a concession of land, but also the means of cultivating it and even of living until they are in a condition to produce enough for their subsistence ; to those who come to invest their capital by establishing new industries, temporary exemptions and privileges which aid and favour the development of the same ; to men of intelligence an easy and advantageous position, and to all, in a word, assurance that South America is rich enough to reward with interest the labour and capital which come to be employed, and her Governments are strong enough to protect and shelter from injury the persons and property of Europeans.

Meanwhile the Governments of the South American republics and the Empire of Brazil continue dictating measures and arrangements which tend to what we have indicated, and while awaiting the arrival of Europeans in a proportion that, given the natural increase of the population, may be sufficient to cover all the needs which are felt, new roads are opened through the wildernesses, which carry the advantages of an easy communication to towns almost unknown ; railways cross the pampas, formerly uninhabited ; numerous towns are rising on the banks of the rivers, which, open to free navigation, are traversed by steamers in increasing numbers, and by means of the numerous telegraph lines rapid and continuous communications with the whole world have been established. Our young America, in fine, figures honourably in the great exhibitions of the old Europe, inviting her, in her turn, to the pacific and fruitful competition of industry and the arts.

Such is the use that, in half a century, the states of South America have made of their liberty.

And if this is true, who has the right to doubt the aptitude of our America to govern itself ? who to despair of its genius ? Why are all its states to be thought to be for ever involved in profitless disturbances, when they are found full of trust in themselves, full of faith in a future of strength, prosperity and greatness ? What motives are there for rashly and systematically denying the moral and material progress that has been made during the latter years ? How can we be ignorant of the improvement in their political education, which, if it is not yet complete, is very much advanced, perhaps as much as that of those European nations who are treating them with such haughty disdain ? If our free and rising America follows the road entered on during the last few years, if she devotes all her activity and the genius of her children to complete and perfect the material improvements that are indispensable in order to reap the benefit of the immense riches of her beautiful, fertile and highly favoured soil ; if, as hitherto, she is careful to spread and extend instruction, making, besides, primary instruction gratuitous ; if she persists in the salutary intention of destroying fanaticism and superstition, which have thrown out such deep roots, and of not permitting the clergy to interfere under any pretext in the heated and passionate struggles of

political parties ; if she is careful to attract European emigrants, thus promoting the cultivation of her immense lands, and the development of her industry and commerce ; if she continues paying respect to the ideas of justice, liberty and labour ; if the just and prolific political sentiment becomes settled, as it appears to be doing, which recognises, after barren and unfortunate experiments, that she cannot have liberty, peace, nor a real government, except with the republic, and that democracies must always seek the men who direct and govern them in the civil element, absolutely proscribing the supreme magistracy to the military element, inclined by nature to Cæsarism, which is the most degrading of despotisms ; if our compatriots, we repeat, follow this admirable road without doubts or vacillation, the future of South America will certainly be, as Már Mol, one of her most illustrious poets, says, "immense as her mountains, and her seas, brilliant as her skies and her resplendent stars".

We do not doubt it, we have never doubted it, and animated by such a patriotic and consolatory thought, we bring these pages to an end.

THE END.

## INDEX.

- A**BERASTEIN, Dr., 208.  
 Acha, José María, 259, 260, 261.  
 Acosta, 69.  
 Acosta, General, 133.  
 Agreda, Colonel, 258.  
 Aguado, Juan de, 14.  
 Agueda, Casto, Colonel, 261.  
 Agüero, 115.  
 Aguirre, Anastasio, 225, 226, 227.  
 Alexander VI., 11, 20, 64, 69.  
 Almagro, Diego de, 32 *seq.*, 42, 43, 46; attempts the conquest of Chili, 47; returns to Cuzco, *id.*; his death, 48, 54.  
 Almagro, the younger, proclaimed goveruor-general, 56; his death, *id.*  
 Alonso, Mariano Roque, 240.  
 Alsina, Valentín, 206.  
 Altamirano, Eulogio, 308.  
 Alvarez, 101.  
 Alvarez Cabral, Pedro, discovers Brazil, 18, 22.  
 Alvarez Lugo, 150.  
 Alvarez de Pineda, 28.  
 Amaru, see Condorcanqui.  
 Amat, Antonio, 82.  
 Anchieta, 85.  
 Andrade e Silva, Bonifacio José, 180.  
 Andrés, 83, 84.  
 Aranda, Diego de, 9.  
 Arboleda, Julio, 127, 128.  
 Arcos, Conde de, 174.  
 Arenas, Antonio, Dr., 283.  
 Arismendi, 104, 105.  
 Arismendi, General, 150.  
 Arredondo, 216.  
 Arrieta, Colonel, 269.  
 Arteta, 168.  
 Artigas, 97, 110, 111, 197, 218.  
 Ascasubi, Manuel, 161.  
 Assier, D', 173, 185.  
 Atahualpa, 40, 41; his ransom, 42; death, 43; 44, 45; his sister, 55.  
 Augustine, St., 4.  
 Avellaneda, Nicolás, Dr., 215, 216.  
 Avendaño, 69.  
 Avendaño, Colonel, 234.  
 Ayala, Juan ds, ascends the Paraguay, 53.  
  
**B**BALBOA, see Nufiez de Balboa  
 Ballivian, 258, 259, 262.  
 Baltá, Colonel, 281 *seq.*  
 Balza, Colonel, 260.  
 Bastidas, Rodrigo de, 21.  
 Bastidas, 83.  
 Batlle, Lorenzo, General, 229.  
  
**B**eauharnais, Eugène, 179.  
 Belgrano, 94, 102, 109.  
 Belzu, 259 *seq.*  
 Benalcazar, Sebastian de, 35; takes Quito, 44; 50.  
 Benevento, 65.  
 Benzoni, 41, 69.  
 Bermudez, 105.  
 Bermudez, General, 266.  
 Berro, Bernardo, 224, 225.  
 Blanco, General, 257.  
 Bobadilla, Francisco de, arrests Columbus, 17; 18, 23.  
 Bogotá, Abp. of, his pastoral, 136.  
 Bogotá, Prince, 50.  
 Bois-le-Comte, 59.  
 Bolívar, Simon, 23, 84, 95; birth and education, 96 *seq.*, 104; President of Venezuela, 105; 106, takes Tunja, 107; 111, gains battle of Carabobo, 114, 115 *seq.*; attempted assassination of, 122, 123; his death, 124; 140, 141, 158, 159, 253 *seq.*, 264, 265.  
 Bolívar y Ponte, Juan Vicente, 96.  
 Bonaparte, Joseph, 92, 93.  
 Bonpland, 63, 231.  
 Borges, 116.  
 Borrero, Antonio, 170.  
 Bourbon, Charlotte de, 109, 175, 233.  
 Bover, 99, 100.  
 Boyle, Father, 13.  
 Brazil, Emperor of, see Pedro II.  
 Briceno, 98.  
 Brie, Colonel, 222.  
 Brion, Admiral, 103 *seq.*; takes Barcelona, 107, 113.  
 Brown, Admiral, 198.  
 Buell, Benedictine, 77.  
 Bulnée, General, 267, 299, 306.  
 Bustamante, 167, 168.  
 Bustos, 199.  
  
**C**CABAL, 102, 103.  
 Cabot, John, 22, 59.  
 Cabot, Sebastian, 22, 53, 59.  
 Caldas, 103.  
 Camera, General, 245.  
 Cameran, 62.  
 Campomanes, 69.  
 Canal, Leonardo, 128.  
 Canseco, General, 274; President of Peru, 278 *seq.*  
 Canterac, 115.  
 Cantú, 73.  
 Caonabo, cacique, rebels, 13; his death, 14.  
 Capac, see Huaiana-Capac and Manco-Capac.

- Cárdenas, Bernardino de, 80.  
 Cárdenas, General, 146.  
 Carlos IV., 91, 92.  
 Carrion, Jerónimo, 166, 167.  
 Carvajal, General, 151.  
 Casas, Las, see Las Casas.  
 Castelli, 94, 95.  
 Castilla, Ramon, 268, 270 *seq.*, 277, 278, 281, 282.  
 Castillo, Manuel, 98, 102.  
 Castro, Julian, General, 143, 144.  
 Castro, General, 228.  
 Cataldino, Father, 78.  
 Catari, 83.  
 Cavendish, Thomas, 316.  
 Caxias, General, 181.  
 Ceballos, 284.  
 Charles V., Emperor, 30, 31, 34, 46, 52, 53, 55, 56, 58, 64, 71, 87.  
 Charles VIII., 3.  
 Chevalier, M., 327.  
 Chrysostom, St., 4.  
 Cisneros, Baltasar de, 94.  
 Cochrane, Lord, 112, 113, 177.  
 Coe, 221.  
 Coelho Carvalho, Francisco, 87.  
 Coligny, Admiral, 58.  
 Colina, General, 151, 152.  
 Columbus, Bartolomé, 14, 16, 18.  
 Columbus, Christopher, 1; goes to Portugal, 2; assisted by Queen Isabella, 3; sets sail, 4; discovers land, 5, 7 *seq.*; returns to Palos, 10; his second voyage, 11, 12 *seq.*; his third voyage, 15, 16; arrested by Bobadilla, 17; his fourth voyage, 18; his death, *id.*, 19, 21 *seq.*, 30, 43, 107, 326, 336.  
 Columbus, Diego, son of preceding, 2.  
 Columbus, Diego, brother of Christopher, 13.  
 Columbus, Fernando, 18.  
 Colunje, Gil, Dr., 132.  
 Condamine, de la, M., 49.  
 Condorcanqui, cacique, 82.  
 Condorcet, 174.  
 Corday, Charlotte, 238.  
 Cordero, General, 146.  
 Córdoba, General, 123.  
 Córdoba, Joaquin, General, 132, 259, 260.  
 Correal, 69.  
 Correoso, 132.  
 Cortez, Hernan, 25, 31, 32, 34.  
 Cosa, Juan de la, 21, 25.  
 Costa Favella, Pedro da, 87.  
 Covarrubias, Alvaro, 302, 307.  
 Crétineau-Joly, 79.  
 Cruz, 197.  
 Cullen, 202.  
 DAVILA, Gonzalo, 70.  
 Debret, 176.  
 Derqui, Santiago, Dr., 208, 209.  
 Diaz, 62.  
 Diaz de Bedoya, 245.  
 Diaz, General, 224.  
 Diaz de Solis, Juan, discovers Yucatan, 24; his death, 30; 220.  
 Dorrego, Colonel, 200 *seq.*
- Drake, 59.  
 Duclerc, 62.  
 Duclos Guyot, 316.  
 Duguay Trouin, 62.  
 Dumouriez, 96.  
 ECHENIQUE, José Rufino, 266, 271 *seq.*, 283.  
 Echezuria, 194.  
 Echezuria, Colonel, 144, 145.  
 Elias, Domingo, 270.  
 Elizabeth, Queen, 59.  
 Elizalde, 211.  
 Ellauri, José, Dr., 229.  
 Enseiro, Abp., 216.  
 Eric the Red, 1.  
 Erasuriz, Federico, 308.  
 Espinosa, 168.  
 Estigarribia, 243.  
 Estrées, D', Vice-Admiral, 89.  
 Eu, Comte d', 244.  
 FALCON, Juan José, General, 145 *seq.*, 149 *seq.*  
 Fajoo, Antonio, Father, 180.  
 Feliciano, 181.  
 Ferdinand the Catholic, 10, 11, 17, 18, 25, 30, 64, 71.  
 Ferdinand VII., 91 *seq.*, 101, 110, 113.  
 Fernandez, Ruperto, 259, 260.  
 Fernandez Vieira, 62.  
 Flores, 82.  
 Flores, Juan José, General, 124, 129, 158 *seq.*, 164, 165, 210, 272.  
 Flores, Venancio, General, 225 *seq.*, 242, 243, 247.  
 Franco, Guillermo, General, 162.  
 Freire, General, 224.  
 Freyre, General, 294, 295, 298.  
 Frias, Tomás, Dr., 262.  
 Fuentes, Manuel, 295.  
 Furtado, 187.  
 GABOTO, Sebastian, see Cabot, Sebastian.  
 Galileo, 4.  
 Gallegas, Mariquita, 82.  
 Gallo, Pedro Leon, 300.  
 Galvao, Antonio, 139.  
 Galvez, José, 281.  
 Gama, Vasco da, 17, 20.  
 Gamarra, Agustin, 258, 259, 265 *seq.*, 271.  
 Gamarra, Señora de, 265.  
 García, 197, 200.  
 García Moreno, Gabriel, Dr., 162 *seq.*; assassinated, 168.  
 Garcilaso de la Vega, 36, 37, 316.  
 Garibaldi, 180, 204, 221, 222.  
 Gasca, Pedro, 57.  
 Gil, Juan Bautista, 246.  
 Godoy, 91.  
 Goes e Vasconcellos, Zacarias de, 187, 188.  
 Goitia, Colonel, 258.  
 Gomara, 41, 44.  
 Gomensoro, Dr., 229.  
 Gomez de la Torre, 166.  
 Gonzalez, Colonel, 279.  
 Grijalba, Juan de, 28.  
 Gual, Pedro, Dr., 144.  
 Guarani, Marqués de, 234.

- Guerra, Cristóbal, 21.  
 Guerra, Lieutenant-Colonel, 256.  
 Gurzon, Colonel, 221.  
 Gutierrez, 133.  
 Gutierrez, Juan, 194, 337.  
 Gutierrez de Lafuente, Antonio, 265, 266,  
     268, 270.  
 Gutierrez, Marcelino, Colonel, 284.  
 Gutierrez, Tomás, Colonel, 284.  
 Guzman Blanco, General, 143, 146, 147,  
     149 *seq.*  
**HARCOURT**, 60.  
 Henry VII., 21.  
 Hercelles, Colonel, 269.  
 Heredia, 202.  
 Herran, General, 126.  
 Herrera, 23.  
 Huaina-Capac, 40.  
 Huascar, 40, 42, 44 and note.  
 Humboldt, 63, 231.  
 Huyana, 44 note.  
**IBARRA**, 204.  
 Iguain, General, 271.  
 Innocent VIII., 19.  
 Irala, 53.  
 Isabella the Catholic, Queen, 3, 10, 11, 17,  
     18.  
 Isabel María, Princess, 178.  
**JAMES I.**, 60.  
 Janizo, Rear-Admiral, 278.  
 Januaria, Donna, 181.  
 Jerome, St., 4.  
 Jesuits, settle in Paraguay, 61, 70 note, 77  
     *seq.*, 109, 165; expelled from Pernam-  
     buco, 189, 216, 217, 227.  
 Jimenez de Quesada, Gonzalo, 50, 51.  
 John II., King of Portugal, 2.  
 John III.,      85.  
 John IV.,      62.  
 John VI.,      94, 107, 108, 174,  
     175, 177, 178, 181.  
 Jordan, Lopez, 213.  
 José I., 87.  
 Jovellanos, Salvador, 246.  
 Juarez, 273, 282, 332.  
 Julius II., 69.  
**KELLY**, Mr., 139.  
 Kennish, Mr., 139.  
 Keymis, Lawrence, 60.  
**LAMAR**, see La Mar.  
 La Mar, 121, 122, 265, 273.  
 Lamartine, 8, 15.  
 Lamas, Diego, General, 225.  
 Landaeta, 151.  
 Lapuerta, General, 282.  
 Las Casas, Bartolomé de, Fray, 23, 50, 51,  
     56, 74, 77.  
 Las Heras, General, 198.  
 Lastera, General, 296.  
 Latorre, General, 114.  
 Latorre, Lorenzo, Colonel, 230.  
 Latorre de Vivanco, Cipriana (Doña), 269,  
     270.  
 Lavalle, 200 *seq.*, 204.  
 Lavalleja, General, 221.  
 Lebreton, 176.  
 Leigh, Charles, 60.  
 Lelewel, 1.  
 Lemaire, 61, 316, 322.  
 Leopoldina of Austria, 179.  
 Lepe, Diego, 21.  
 Liais, M., French astronomer, 191.  
 Lima, Abp. of, 277.  
 Linares, Dr., 259, 260.  
 Liniers, Jacques de, 94.  
 Loizaga, 245.  
 Lopez, 97.  
 Lopez de Aguirre, 57.  
 Lopez, General, 124.  
 Lopez, Carlos Antonio, successor of Francia,  
     240; opens Paraguay to foreigners,  
     *id.*; his death, 241.  
 Lopez, Dr., 206.  
 Lopez, Estanislao, 199, 202.  
 Lopez Lavalle, 273.  
 Lopez, Vicente, 199, 201.  
 Lopez y Mendez, Luis, 96, 106.  
 Louis XI., 237.  
 Louis XV., 39.  
 Louis Philippe, 244.  
 Lozano, 103.  
 Lucca, Prince of, 109, 110.  
 Luque, Fernando, 32 *seq.*, 46, 56.  
 Luzini, 216.  
 Lynch, Eliza, 244.  
**MACEDO**, 86.  
 Maceta, Father, 78.  
 Mac Gregor, 104.  
 Mackau, Vice-Admiral, 204.  
 Magellan, Fernando, 29, 30; discovers  
     straits, 31; and Philippine Islands,  
     *id.*; his death, *id.*, 316, 322 and note.  
 Maldonado, General, 166.  
 Mallarino, 128.  
 Mama-Oella, 35.  
 Manco-Capac, 35, 41.  
 Manco-Capac, Inca, 43, 45, 47, 48.  
 Margarita, Pedro, 13.  
 Maria Amalia of Leuchtenberg, 179.  
 Maria, Donna, 178, 179, 181.  
 Mariño, 97 *seq.*, 102 *seq.*, 120.  
 Mármol, 194, 340.  
 Marquez, Dr., 126.  
 Marquez, General, 151.  
 Martin, Domingo José, 174.  
 Martin V., 11.  
 Martinez, General, 146.  
 Masham, Thomas, 60.  
 Maundeville, Sir John, 16.  
 Maximilian, 332.  
 Medina, General, 225.  
 Medina, Juan José, 240.  
 Melgarejo, Lieutenant-Colonel, 261, 262.  
 Mendez Nuñez, 303; bombards Valparaiso,  
     305.  
 Mendiola, 77.  
 Mendoza, 77.  
 Mendoza, Cardinal, 2.  
 Mendoza de Castilla, Gonzalo, founds Asun-  
     cion, 53.

- Mendoza de Castilla, Pedro, founds Buenos Aires, 53.  
 Menendez, Manuel, 268, 271.  
 Michelena, General, 145.  
 Miguel, Prince, 178 *seq.*  
 Miranda, General, 93, 96, 97.  
 Mitre, 194.  
 Mitre, General, 208 *seq.*, 215, 216, 227, 243, 247.  
 Monagas, Gregorio, 143.  
 Monagas, J. R., 152.  
 Monagas, Tadeo, General, 105, 143, 151.  
 Monteverde, 97 *seq.*  
 Montezuma, 31.  
 Montt, Manuel, 299 *seq.*  
 Morales, 103, 105.  
 Morales, Agustin, Colonel, 262.  
 Moreno, 94.  
 Morillo, 101 *seq.*, 105, 106, 113, 114.  
 Moses, 4.  
 Mosquera, General, 123, 126, 128, 129, 131 *seq.*, 163, 164.  
 Murillo Toro, Manuel, Dr., 129, 131, 132, 134.  
 NAPOLEON, 91, 93, 96, 101, 237, 239.  
 Narvaez, 65.  
 Nicuesa, Diego de, 21, 25, 27.  
 Niño, Pedro Alonso, 21.  
 Nioto, General, 271.  
 Noboa, Diego, 161.  
 Nobrega, 85.  
 Nuñez de Balboa, Vasco, 25, 28; discovers the Pacific Ocean, 29; his death, 30; 31, 32.  
 Nuñez de Vela, Blasco, 56.  
 OBES, 222.  
 Obligado, Dr., 207.  
 O'Higgins, 111; proclaims independence of Chili, 112; 116, 294.  
 Ojeda, Alonso de, 13, 20 *seq.*, 25, 27, 41, 52.  
 Olaneta, 253.  
 Olías, 34.  
 Olinda, Marqués de, 187, 188.  
 Orbegoso, Luis, 266, 267, 269, 271.  
 Ordaz, Diego de, 89.  
 Orellana, Francisco de, descends the Amazon, 49, 50, 57.  
 Oribe, Iguacio, 203 *seq.*, 221, 222, 224.  
 Orleans, Duke of, 109.  
 Ortiz de Rosas, Juan Manuel, 184; his character, 201, 202 *seq.*; battle of Monte Caseros, 206; his flight, *id.*, 212, 215, 221, 222, 240.  
 Osorio, 110, 112.  
 Ospina, Mariano, Dr., 126, 127.  
 Ovando, General, 124, 126.  
 Ovando, Nicolás, 17, 23, 24, 31.  
 Oviedo, 23.  
 PACHANO, General, 151.  
 Pacheco, 222.  
 Paez, his character and exploits, 104, 105, 116, 120, 123, 140 *seq.*; his death, 151.  
 Palaofox, 77.  
 Palamesa, Diego de, 60.  
 Pardo, Manuel, 283 *seq.*, 291.  
 Paredes, General, 149.  
 Pareja, Admiral, 277, 280; blockade of Valparaíso, 301 *seq.*; his suicide, 303, 305.  
 Parra, Dr., 135, 186.  
 Patiños, 237, 239.  
 Paula, Francisco de, 109.  
 Paz, General, 202, 204, 211, 222.  
 Pedrarias Dávila, executes Balboa, 30, 32.  
 Pedraza, 34.  
 Pedro I, see Pedro, Dom.  
 Pedro, Dom, proclaimed Emperor of Brazil, 109; 175, 176 *seq.*, 186.  
 Pedro II, 180; his character, 181 *seq.*, 186; dissolves Chambers, 188; abolition of slavery, 190, 191; travels in Europe, 192; 244.  
 Pereira, 224.  
 Pereira da Silva, 184.  
 Perez, General, 260.  
 Perez, José Joaquín, 300, 301, 306, 308.  
 Perez, Juan, Fray, 3.  
 Perez, Santiago, 185.  
 Pétion, 103.  
 Pezet, Juan Antonio, General, 274, 275, 277 *seq.*  
 Pezuña, 110.  
 Philip II., 57.  
 Philip III., 68.  
 Philip V., edict in favour of Jesuits in Paraguay, 79.  
 Piar, 104, 105.  
 Piloni, 209.  
 Pinto, 296.  
 Pinto, General, 206.  
 Pinzon, Admiral, 276.  
 Pinzon, Alonso, 3, 8, 9; his death, 10.  
 Pinzon, Vicente, discovers Brazil, 21, 22, 24.  
 Pizarro, Fernando, 34, 57.  
 Pizarro, Francisco, 25, 32; returns to Spain, 33, 34; seizes Atahualpa, 41 *seq.*, 46; besieged in Lima, 47, 54, 55; his death, 56; 57, 116.  
 Pizarro, Gonzalo, 34, 46, 48 *seq.* 57.  
 Pizarro, Juan, 34, 46, 48.  
 Plessis, 310.  
 Polo, Marco, 5, 7, 8.  
 Pombal, Marquess of, 87.  
 Pombo, Miguel de, 103, 127.  
 Ponce de Leon, Juan, settles in Puerto Rico, 24; discovers Florida, 28.  
 Portales, 297; shot, 298, 299.  
 Porta Alegre, 243.  
 Prado, Manuel, Colonel, 278 *seq.*  
 Prieto, Joaquin, General, 296, 298, 299.  
 Pulgar, Venancio, 151, 153.  
 Puy, 99, 102.  
 Puyredon, Martin, 110.  
 QUINTANELLA, 295.  
 Quiroga, 199, 201 *seq.*  
 RALEIGH, Sir Walter, 59, 60.  
 Raleigh, Walter, son of preceding, 60.  
 Ramirez, 111, 197, 237.  
 Real, 105.  
 Reclus, M., 333.  
 Reinafé, 202.  
 Rendon, Senator, 143.  
 Reugger, 239.

- Reynaud, 4.  
 Ribas, Félix, 97, 98 ; his death, 101.  
 Ribeiro, Juan, 174.  
 Ribera, Fructuoso, 203, 220, 221.  
 Ribeyro, 276.  
 Rinjifo, 299.  
 Rivadavia, 197 *seq.*, 206.  
 Rivarola, Cirilo Antonio, 245, 246.  
 Rivas, 216.  
 Rivas, 273.  
 Robertson, 11.  
 Robespierre, 237.  
 Robles, General, 161, 162.  
 Roca, Vicente, 160, 161.  
 Rocafuerte, Vicente, education and character, 159 ; retires to Lima, 160 ; his death, 161.  
 Rodil, 264.  
 Rodriguez, 102.  
 Rodriguez de Fonseca, Juan, 13, 20.  
 Rodriguez de Francia, José Gaspar, 109, 197, 231 ; Dictator of Paraguay, 232 ; description of, *id.* ; his policy of isolation, 233 ; his cruelties, 234 ; his ideas on commerce, 235 ; marries, 237 ; his death, 238, 241.  
 Rodriguez, General, 197, 198, 201.  
 Rojas, 105, 145, 146 ; his death, 151.  
 Roldan, Francisco, 14, 16 *seq.*  
 Rondeau, General, 111, 218, 220.  
 Roseta, 100.  
 Rouher, 273.  
 Rubio, General, 145.
- SAA, Colonel, 208.  
 Sahagun, 77.  
 Saint-Hilaire, M. de, 88.  
 Salaberry, General, 267, 271.  
 Salazar, General, 153.  
 Salazar, Juan de, founds Asuncion, 53.  
 Salazar y Baquijano, Manuel, 265.  
 Salazar y Mazarredo, Enssbio, 276.  
 Salgar, General, 133, 134.  
 San Bruno, 111.  
 Sanchez, 245.  
 Sanchez, Manuel Antonio, 259.  
 San Martin, 112 ; takes Lima, 113, 116.  
 San Roman, Migus, General, 268, 272 *seq.*  
 Santa Colonna, General, 132.  
 Santa Cruz, General, 257 *seq.*, 261, 264, 265, 267, 271, 298, 299.  
 Santander, Francisco de Paula, General, 107, 120, 121 ; exiled, 122 ; President of Colombia, 125, 126.  
 Santiago, 156.  
 Sarmiento, 194.  
 Sarmiento, Dr., his efforts in favour of education, 212, 218 *seq.*  
 Schael, 78.  
 Schouten, 61, 316.  
 Sedefio, 105.  
 Segaud, M., 172.  
 Seguesayipa, 52.  
 Silva, General, 143.  
 Sinchi-Roca, 36.  
 Solano Lopez, Francisco, 184, 189, 210, 226, 241 ; war with Brazil, 242 ; his death, 245.
- Sotero, General, 150.  
 Soto, 35.  
 Sousa Continho, Francisco, 88.  
 Sousa, Tomás de, 85.  
 Stuart, Sir Charles, 178.  
 Sucre, General, 115, 116, 122 ; assassinated, 124 ; 128, 253, 254, 256, 265.  
 Szcolny, John, 1.
- TAJES, Colonel, 224.  
 Taunay, 176.  
 Tavira, 301.  
 Thibaut, Colonel, 222.  
 Tizquesuca, 52.  
 Toro, Marqués de, 96.  
 Torres, 103.  
 Torrices, 103.  
 Torrico, Juan Crisóstomo, General, 268, 269.  
 Tovar, Manuel Felipe de, 144.  
 Triana, Rodrigo de, first sights American land, 5.  
 Trias, General, 150, 151.
- ULLOA (historian), 65, 69.  
 Ulloa, 127.  
 Urbina, 165 *seq.*  
 Urbino, José María, General, 161, 162.  
 Urdaneta, 102, 103, 124.  
 Ureta, 283.  
 Urquiza, Justo José de, 205 *seq.*, 211, 212, 222, 247.  
 Ursua, Pedro de, 57.  
 Uscategui, Colonel, shot, 133.
- VACA de Castro, defeats Almagro the younger, 56.  
 Valcárcel, 94, 95, 199.  
 Valdés, 113.  
 Valdivia, Pedro, conquers Chili, 54 ; his death, 55.  
 Valera, 88.  
 Valverde, Father, 34, 41 ; signs the sentence on Atahualpa, 43 ; his death, 56, 77.  
 Varela, Pedro, 229.  
 Vargas, José, Dr., 142.  
 Velasco, 257, 258.  
 Velazquez, Diego, conquers Cuba, 28, 31.  
 Vespucci, Amerigo, 18, 21 *seq.*  
 Vespucio, see Vespucci.  
 Via, 105.  
 Vidal, 62.  
 Vidal, 227.  
 Vidal, General, 268, 269.  
 Vidaurre, Colonel, 298.  
 Villalba, 227.  
 Villegagnon, 58, 59.  
 Villekens, Admiral, 61.  
 Viracocha, 36.  
 Virasoro, 208.  
 Vivanco, Colonel, 268 *seq.*, 278.
- WASHINGTON, 96.  
 Welser of Augsburg, 52.
- YAÑEZ, Colonel, 100, 260.  
 Yegros, Fulgencio, 231, 232, 237.
- ZAMBRANO, 50.  
 Zea, 106.









